# The Congregational Quarterly

## EDITORIAL.

I MUST ask to be forgiven for becoming frankly personal at the beginning of these Editorial notes in order to say "Thank you" to all readers of this journal responsible for my election to the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales and to all who have been good enough to write to me since. Such election, as I said to the Assembly, I regard as a vindication of Congregationalism, for I do not think any other denomination would have allowed to its Editor such a freedom as Congregationalism has given to the Editor of the *Congregational Quarterly*. It has allowed at the heart of things one working actively in the work of the Union to be a free and independent commentator, even taking his own line, and sometimes criticizing cherished policies. It believes in giving to the occupant of the Editorial Chair the same kind of liberty it gives to the preacher in the pulpit, and this election I humbly take to mean a recognition of the fact that I have regarded that Chair as a pastorate and used it with the same sense of responsibility.

May I also repeat the appeal I made to the Assembly? It is my considered judgment that no man should occupy such a position as I now hold indefinitely, and at the end of 20 years I hope to hand over the *Congregational Quarterly* to another Editor. I had planned, therefore, to give a good deal of time during the next three years to building up the circulation of the *Quarterly* to such a point that the new Editor could begin without financial anxiety. That means an increased circulation of 250, and I expressed the hope that churches, ministers, and laymen would at once furnish that increase in order that I might look forward to the onerous duties of the Chairmanship without preoccupation. Will all Congregationalists who read these words please take this paragraph both in its thanks and in its appeal as addressed to them?

Since the above paragraph was written, I have heard it said that churches inevitably suffer when their ministers are engaged in the duties of the Chair! The same may be true of this journal, and I am the more anxious therefore to secure its future before I enter on the year of office.

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THESE notes are shorter than usual because we have said some of the things we wished to say in the Lecture "Faith, Fear, and Freedom" printed within. When it was delivered we had no intention of printing the lecture, but there have been requests for it, and as it is poss-

ible to incorporate in it references to two important books which would otherwise have appeared under "Current Literature" and "Worth Noting" we have acquiesced. It may perhaps be included among the prolegomena of the International Council, to which Mr. Crick's article is not irrelevant.

Dr. Douglas Horton has found life so hectic since his return to the United States that he has been unable to get his Impressions of his world tour to us in time for our press day. We hope to print them in our next issue.

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LOOKING back on the May Meetings after a month's interval, the impression is of good preaching, competent addresses, and a real concern about the work and witness of the Church at home and abroad. Courtesy, lack of time, and, without doubt, Mr. Ernest Brown's intimate acquaintance with the detailed work of the Ministry over which he presides, were responsible for the absence of that heckling it was assumed would greet him. The main problems pressing for solution were shelved until the autumn—the hymn-book, the intractable "settlements and removals" question, and the detailed answer to the Scheme of Re-union. While it is agreed that this Scheme has not the remotest chance of acceptance by the Free Churches—the Baptists decline to continue conversations on its basis—the general feeling is that the rupture of negotiations is undesirable. Fringes on the left and right in Congregationalism would either break off conversations now or swallow the Scheme for the sake of union, but probably the vast majority, while believing that the discussions will never lead to anything unless they are accompanied by much more in the way of active co-operation between Anglicans and Free Churchmen, are not sufficiently moved to desire their cessation.

The resolution pledging the churches to support all young men who follow their consciences to, or away from, military service, skilfully avoided judgment on the Government's action in introducing conscription, while recognizing that conscription was contrary to British traditions and contained a menace to religious liberty. This issue has once more revealed the country's misfortune in the deplorable absence of an effective opposition in Parliament. The Liberals were hopelessly divided, their chronic condition in these days, and the Labour Front Bench again inept: that they should have allowed the principle of conscription to be placed on the Statute Book without any recognition that conscription of wealth should accompany it is incredible. For every year (20-21) called up for military service, let a corresponding year (50-51, say) be subjected to a levy for that year of all income, from whatever source derived, in excess of £100 a year per person—and we shall see what we shall see. And to the outsider the failure of the Labour Party to make acceptance of

conscription contingent on an anti-aggression alliance with Russia is inexplicable. Is it that the Labour leaders have information from the Government which is denied to Parliament and to the people? Meanwhile it behoves those who trust the Government, believing that it has no Fascist motives, and that "it can't happen here", to watch vigilantly for any encroachment on liberty of speech and on liberty of the press. If the battle is joined on this issue, it is the Free Churches which will bear the brunt, as the Confessional Church, now dwindling under incessant pressure, has done in Germany.

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"WHAT is the way out?" Such is the urgent question which men all over the world are anxiously asking themselves and one another. Let them, individually and in groups, read what Mr. Clarence K. Streit has to say in *Union Now* (Cape, 10s. 6d.), which seems destined to be an important book. Mr. Streit early showed his independence by demurring when his fellow students in 1917 assured President Wilson of "enthusiastic support in your every undertaking". He joined the Army, was attached to the American Peace Commission in Paris, and subsequently became Geneva correspondent to the *New York Times*. He has no difficulty in showing how and why the League has failed; the germ is absolute nationalism, and Dr. Streit's serum for it a union of "fifteen North Atlantic democracies" —those of the American Union, the British Commonwealth, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland—in these five fields: citizenship, defence force, a customs-free economy, currency, postal and communications system. It sounds both ambitious and impossible, but Mr. Streit, quoting the words "Too solid to be overthrown? The livery stable business never seemed more solid than the day the first garage opened", faces all the difficulties, encouraged by his own country's experience when, a League of thirteen "free and independent States" having failed, Alexander Hamilton led his country to the Union destined to be so successful. Perhaps scarcely all, for we do not think he really tackles the immediate re-actions of the non-democratic nations, and almost casually dismisses the possibility of Russia linking up with the Axis powers. Apart from this Mr. Streit's attempt to find a solution for the world's woes is as thorough as it is bold and courageous. We wish we could think there was any immediate prospect that the experiment would be tried; it is by Mr. Streit's countrymen that the first steps must be taken, and at the moment they show little inclination to budge.

Approaching the problem from another angle, Mr. Kenneth Ingram in *The Defeat of War* (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.) reaches a similar solution. Pacifism, he agrees, is unquestionably right, but as a policy for the present it is wrong, for it does not belong to the immediate situation. The first essential, therefore, is to change the

situation. The British Government should immediately invite all countries to a world-conference, declaring that under certain conditions it is ready to place the whole of its Colonial possessions under an international mandate. The Agenda for the Conference should be collateral disarmament; the formation of an international assembly, with a court of justice and *ad hoc* appeal tribunals; the absolute pledge of nations to resort to the Court in case of dispute; the question whether the decisions of these tribunals should be enforced by sanctions; territorial grievances and treaty revision; currency stabilization. Mr. Ingram thinks that both Germany and Italy would have to attend such a Conference, and thus a breathing space would be secured, but that Germany, at any rate, would soon withdraw. Then a Peace Front should be formed (corresponding to Mr. Streit's North Atlantic democracies), a miniature international commonwealth which would carry out the scheme outlined in the Conference Agenda.

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It was with great regret that we heard of the death of Principal J. S. Griffith, whose contribution on "Congregationalism and Creeds" in our last issue aroused widespread interest. Principal Griffith, a Mansfield man who has rendered distinguished service to Congregationalism in Australia, and notably in the training of the ministry, has left all too little behind him in the printed word, but he has left a gracious memory and an influence which will not soon pass away. We were looking to him for guidance and help in the International Congregational Council next year: there, as elsewhere, he will be greatly missed.

The Church of Christ has lost another striking figure in Sir Henry Lunn, whom we mention here because he was entirely *sui generis*. Methodist and Anglican, doctor and parson and business man at one and the same time, Henry Lunn's main passion was that of Christian union. He was a great egotist, but his egotism was that of the schoolboy, attractive—not repellent. There was nothing he loved better in later years than to tell of his efforts at reunion at Grindelwald or of his manifold communications with leaders of all the churches. Did any man ever give so many dinners, instigate so many circular letters, or gather together such strangely assorted collections as his Hellenic Travellers' lecturers? Some twelve years ago he was largely instrumental in forming a dining club of Anglicans and Free Churchmen, who met monthly for the discussion of topics of common interest. Its first members were Lord Wolmer, Sir Henry Slesser, the present Dean of Chichester, Preb. H. F. B. Mackay, the Rev. Arnold Pinchard (Secretary of the English Church Union), and Mr. Sidney Dark, on the one side; Lunn himself, Dr. H. B. Workman, Dr. B. Gregory, Dr. Hubert L. Simpson, and the present writer, on the other (Mr. C. T. Le Quesne, K.C., shortly afterwards making the twelfth). For 12 years this club has met

regularly, generally alone, but once a year with distinguished guests, among whom we remember the Archbishop of York, Lord Halifax, the Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. John Buchan, Dr. James Reid, Dr. S. M. Berry, and others. Some of the members of the Club have gone to heaven, some to the Bench, and to-day the members are Lord Wolmer, the Dean of Chichester, Canon J. K. Mozley, the Rev. E. J. Rich, Dr. T. S. Eliot, Mr. R. Ellis Roberts, Mr. H. B. Vaisey, K.C., Sir William Codling, Dr. Workman, Dr. Gregory, Dr. Alexander, Mr. Le Quesne, Mr. A. Norman Carter, and the present writer. The members of the group have in the course of the years learnt from each other; they are indeed "one in Christ" and all members of the one Church, differing widely, but recognizing each other's sincerity. All would agree that to Henry Lunn's genius they owe much: and the number of people who would say "Amen" to that is legion.

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With Vol. XII of the *Ancient History* (35s.; vol. of plates, 15s.), the Cambridge University Press brings to an end the ambitious enterprise which embraces the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods. The completion of the task calls for commendation and congratulation to those who have been responsible for it; though naturally all the contributions in the forty volumes have not been on the same level, the standard has been remarkably high, and the bibliographies in themselves give constant reason for gratitude. In this volume, with the accompanying plates, Cambridge rounds the last lap and breaks the tape with a fine burst of speed. Called "The Imperial Crisis and Recovery", it surveys the years from the accession of Septimius Severus to Nicaea, years of rich significance for classical and historical students, and not less so for students of religion. We do not pretend to have read all the chapters, but we have read some and sampled others. Prof. A. D. Nock's "Development of Paganism in the Roman Empire" is followed by the late F. C. Burkitt's "Pagan Philosophy and the Christian Church" and "The Christian Church in the East" (these finished by Prof. J. M. Creed). Dr. Hans Lietzmann deals with "The Christian Church in the West" and Prof. J. Bidez with "Literature and Philosophy in the Eastern Half of the Empire", and finally there are two masterly chapters by Prof. Norman H. Baynes on "The Great Persecution" and "Constantine".

By the way, did not the celebration of a great achievement call for something more dignified than a sherry party? One wonders what the comment of those responsible for the beginning of the project would have been about the manner the end of it was crowned.

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The *Congregational Quarterly* is not, we firmly believe, one of those journals which "boost" all books issued by its publishers, nor does

it regard the books of Congregationalists with other than impartial eyes. We can, therefore, without qualms or hesitation, cordially commend to readers two recent books by members of our Editorial Board, Dr. W. B. Selbie's *The Validity of Christian Belief* (Nicholson & Watson, 5s.) and Mr. B. L. Manning's *Essays on Orthodox Dissent* (Independent Press, 5s.). The former we have heard described as "Selbie's best book"; whether that is so or not, the book is an excellent example of Christian apologetic, marked with the conviction and clarity which characterize all Dr. Selbie's work. It is very timely, and its not least conspicuous service is the example it sets before young men in keeping abreast of recent scholarship. Mr. Manning's collection of papers should do much to acquaint modern Dissenters with the pit from which they were digged; some of them seem as desirous of forgetting their fathers as those who "move out" to the suburbs are to forget the shop and the forge. Mr. Manning, with all his learning, steadfastly refuses to grow up; he loves to trail his coat, though "he only does it to annoy, because he knows it teases". If Mr. Manning is sometimes over-inclined to suggest that the 18th century is the palmy age of Congregationalism, his enthusiasm is none the less welcome. *O si sic omnes*! We hope that the absence of the essays on hymns and hymn-writers only means that they are being kept for another volume.

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THIS journal has always taken pride in going out into the world immaculately dressed, but last quarter pride had a grievous fall, and our pinafore was sadly soiled. Not only did one of our contributors make Bousset into Bossuet, and the veteran Cambridge scholar Bethune-Baker "the late", but in another place the murder of von Rath was put in 1937 instead of 1938 (readers might care to alter this in their copies, p. 9), and even our cross-word expert put enmity "between Adam and Eve" instead of "between the serpent and Eve". To crown all, in an advertisement page a member of our own Editorial Board was transferred from Jesus College, Cambridge, to Jesus College, Oxford.

It is not often all our proof-readers nod, even if the Editor, who takes full responsibility, falls asleep; for these and all other shortcomings, known and unknown, remembered and forgotten, we abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes.

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THE Congregational Theological Conference meets this year at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, from July 3rd to 6th. The subject is "The Person of Jesus Christ", and the speakers, Dr. Woolf ("The Historic Jesus"), Dr. Dodd ("The Apostolic Faith"), Dr. Micklem ("The Christ of the Creeds"), Principal Lovell Cocks ("Reinterpretation of the Fact of Christ"), and Dr. A. T. Cadoux and Prof. Cunliffe-Jones (both "Towards a Christology").

Our correspondent writes: I finished my first view of the Academy with two main impressions. First, that there have never been so many excellent paintings of flowers. Just look at Mr. Terence Loudon's "Vase of Flowers" (66) or Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson's "Autumn Bouquet" (237) for example. Mr. Nevinson, by the way, is on top form in this academy. All his six exhibits are excellent.

Second—a question rather than an impression. Do artists ever advise would-be sitters that there is not the slightest chance that they will make a good portrait? This year we have several men (and, tell it not in Gath, one or two divines) and quite a lot of women who should never have occupied a painter's time. My Press Day catalogue is, I fear, irreverent in the extreme; certainly it contains the note, to which we will not give a number—"My dear ——, I dare-say you are a nice woman, but why did you have it done?" No doubt the artist's answer is that he finds a challenge in unprepossessing subjects. But that does not present beauty to the beholder's eye!

A reader of books cannot help but notice that in all cases but one in this Academy readers have books at an angle where they could not read comfortably—even Mr. Harold Knight fails here.

Again we have "no religion in the Academy", and very little humour. Even Mr. George Belcher is subdued, and Mr. J. W. Tucker's "Freddie's First Visit" almost alone gives a lighter touch. Miss Hodgson's "The Nativity" is Bethlehem in modern dress. Mr. Miguel Mackinlay's "Theresa" has a very good baby with toys.

Seascapes are not so good as usual though Mr. Olsson is well represented. Mr. Munnings has actually a picture without a horse.

Again we have characteristic paintings. Although we do not expect Mr. Elwell to leave his interiors, Mr. Brockenhurst must beware lest he succumb altogether to rich dark dresses, white faces and ruddy lips, and in spite of "A dark Girl with Tobacco Flowers" we feel Mrs. Dod Procter does prefer blondes.

There is nothing particularly noteworthy in the portraits. We have the King, Queen Mary, a pleasanter Mr. Chamberlain than usual, and an admirable Lord Baldwin from Mr. Oswald Birley, two of the Lord Chancellor, a striking Mr. Belloc, and a very good bust of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Meredith Frampton's "Trial and Error", an extraordinary collection of objects—a head, a vase, a flower in the tea-pot, rolls of paper, scissors, playing cards—is one of the best paintings on view. Mr. Cundall's "Test Match at Lord's" is no mean achievement, though some of the fieldsmen seem to have their backs to the wicket.

A rather dull and uninspired year.

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*Stop Press.*—Exercising great restraint, we do not write of our visit to Lord's to-day, but merely chonicle the result—Yorkshire 430 for 5, Middlesex 62 and 122.

# JOHN OMAN.

By Dr. W. B. Selbie, M.A.

By the death of John Oman the whole Christian Church is the poorer. Though a convinced and loyal Presbyterian he was at the same time Catholic in the best sense. He used his great gifts freely in the defence and exposition of the Christian faith without the slightest ecclesiastical bias. A profound and original thinker, he was also a simple and earnest Christian. As minister at Alnwick and among his students at Westminster College he showed himself to be a true shepherd of souls. He was interested in all sorts and conditions of men, loved human nature for its own sake, and willingly spent himself in its service. No one could come into touch with him without feeling the challenge and stimulus of a great personality, and to those who were in any need or trouble he was indeed a very present help.

Oman's work as a theologian and philosopher will certainly live. We are perhaps too near it as yet to form any final estimate of its value, but we need not hesitate to acclaim it as a permanent contribution to religious thought. It is not without significance that his first book was a translation of Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion.* In an admirable introduction he gives a most timely and impressive account of the Romantic movement and of Schleiermacher's great work as preacher, patriot, and theologian. This was followed by *Vision and Authority,* written while Oman was still a minister at Alnwick. It contains a masterly examination of the issue between what is sometimes known as dynamic and static religion, the prophetic and the authoritarian. Oman confesses that in writing it he had in mind certain practical issues in the then ecclesiastical situation but that the book grew into an "enquiry into the foundations on which all the Churches rest". The questions here dealt with are certainly as relevant and as urgent to-day as they were then. Oman's treatment of them is well worth study and remains a permanent contribution to a very difficult subject. Two other books, *The Problem of Faith and Freedom in the last two Centuries* and *The Church and the Divine Order,* are illuminating excursions into Church History. They may need in some respects to be brought up to date but their general character and the prophetic outlook of their author may be judged from his own words:

> In some order of love and freedom, that is in some kind of Church, the historical struggle of mankind must be gathered up, and, if it is not being served by the present Churches, then a supreme effort should be made to recall them to their true task.

Oman's main contribution to Theology and to the Philosophy of

Religion is in his two latest books, *Grace and Personality* and *The Natural and the Supernatural*. On these his reputation will rest as on a sure foundation. The former book is confessedly difficult, but anyone who takes the trouble to master its somewhat compressed style will find in it both spiritual instruction and mental stimulus. With all its theological insight it is a deeply religious book and well illustrates the saying that it is the heart that makes the theologian. For all that, however, Oman was no sentimentalist. Humble, simple, and sincere as was his religious faith, it was never divorced from the understanding and was well able to justify itself at the bar of reason. This appears very clearly in his last and greatest book, *The Natural and the Supernatural*. This book may safely be regarded as the most important work on philosophical theology in our time and one that has a message for all time. It is a study of religion in and in relation to its environment and it covers therefore a very wide field. It is a work of immense learning and of deep religious insight. Its writer shows himself to be a poet as well as a prophet, a mystic as well as a rationalist. It contains passages of rare beauty and eloquence and is charged throughout with that passionate sincerity and love of truth for its own sake which were its author's most outstanding characteristics.

Oman was a great teacher and lives again in the students whom he influenced and who were proud to call him master. He was also a humble minister of the Gospel and has left behind him fragrant memories of helpfulness and service. But the name that fits him best is prophet. He had all a prophet's zeal for God, for righteousness, and for truth, something too of a prophet's intolerance of shams and folly and slackness. He could be very caustic in criticism, but he had also the charity which cloaks a multitude of sins. Every contact with him increased one's appreciation of the man's essential greatness. He was not an easy or ready conversationalist, but he touched nothing that he did not adorn, and when he gave an opinion left the impression that there was nothing more to be said. He leaves behind him a host of followers who loved him not only for his work's sake but because he was the wisest of counsellors and the most loyal of friends.

# A FOREIGN VOICE.

By Nadejda Gorodetzky, B.Litt.

At the World Conference of Faith and Order in 1937 the editor of this journal sought out among the Youth delegation a person belonging to a tradition wholly different from his own. "What does it mean for one to live within this ancient branch of Christendom?" he asked. He insisted that each one should be ready to explain his position; whilst all the speakers repeatedly urged that there is no understanding possible unless ordinary members of all the branches of the Church learn to see others' point of view. Dutifully, the person asked was ready to answer—by word of mouth. But no editor was ever satisfied with talking; and this is the origin of the present paper. Will the lines which follow express the position of rank and file? Even this is doubtful. Besides the personal failures and sin into which fortunately others do not fall, my upbringing and the epoch in which I happened to live are not typical of an Orthodox, in Russia as elsewhere. However uneasy one feels in using personal pronouns, the fairest way is still to accept responsibility for these lines as an individual. Inevitably, a note of apology, whether or both in sense of confession of sin or confession of faith, may creep in; yet even if one does not bring in more personal facts than necessary in relation to the religious experience, one is very conscious of posing as a sort of good, religious person—and this is the most painful of all as a gross exaggeration. The reader is earnestly begged to keep this in mind.

My family was liberal and full of desire to serve the good cause, which for the Russian intelligentsia could not be any other than the Revolution. My parents nevertheless did not join the ranks of the revolutionaries, but worked in the cultural field trying to bring more enlightenment among the masses. Mother, who neither denied the existence of the Creator nor saw His place in daily life, illogically taught us the *Ave Maria* and the Lord's Prayer. It is true she did not expect us to make a regular use of them. She intensely and demonstratively disliked the clergy and never went to church. Father sometimes did go. He even took us to the Easter midnight service —the most glorious service of the Orthodox Church. He went for the sake of the choir singing, he would say. Once when, aged nine or ten, I went alone to the liturgy, he asked me afterwards what was the Gospel of the day. I could not answer, I took no notice of it. Ever since I did. There was also a New Testament in father's study. Maybe, after all, he went to church not for the singing alone. Mother probably told us the Gospel story; I remember this indirectly, through a dream my sister had of the Holy Family flying to Egypt.

I envied her, I had no such dreams. This is a very early recollection; in my more conscious memory there is no instance of any religious conversations with my mother.

A lady friend took me once to the service. Infant of three, I remember the pleasure of wearing a blue lacy frock. And there was an unforgettable beam of incense flowing with the sunshine. Dostoevsky mentions a similar impression of childhood; yet mine is not borrowed; I spoke of it long before reading *The Karamazovs*. All the Old Testament pictures of offering, and the psalms, and our petition of Lent, "Let my prayer arise like incense before Thee", go back to this vision of childhood. No words of the service remained in my soul. Yet how thankful I am for having been allowed, as infant, to enter the House of God. Another religious experience of early date is painful. One evening spontaneously I knelt at my bedside. Suddenly, I was lifted up by the nighty and put to bed: "No need to linger any more, you should be asleep long ago", said my mother.

Once on a summer day I passed a house with an open window in the basement. The curtain was down, but the light wind moved it, and I suddenly saw a man standing before an icon in prayer. For ever this simple Russian and his holy image became for me the personification of the prayer "in the inner chamber".

A lady whose children were our playmates proposed that we should prepare together for Easter. Mother could not resist our desire to follow our friends. Twice a day during the Holy Week we attended services; we insisted on standing, like the grown-ups do in Russian churches; we protested against milk or eggs and fasted strictly. My first confession happened thus in the traditional way when I was aged seven. Every year afterwards during my school period I went to confession and communion, even when, owing to war and revolution, my faith began to be shattered.

The breaking away came during the period of exile, but roughly from the age of seven I "took to" the Sunday services. There was a church near, into which it was possible to slip from the garden. The congregation takes for granted the presence of children; they learn thus to be equal to the grown-ups, and responsible for their behaviour and inner attitude. In the East not much stress is laid on the Baby-Jesus; pictures like that of the boy Jesus throwing a cushion at another boy are unknown to us and make us feel very uneasy when we meet them in some Western religious papers. The Holy Ghost—the daily invocation and beautiful services of the Whitsuntide; Jesus Christ, God the Son, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified and risen; and our Father in heaven—Orthodox belief gradually comes to us through the liturgy. Soon my devotions were extended to Saturday evening services. Most impressive were the vigils of feast days when the rite of oil anointing (not to be mistaken for the sacrament

of unction) is performed. How vividly it is associated with the remembrance of the disciples using oil for the healing, and still more with all the facts and parables which bring in oil. A serious act it was also, to kindle a taper and to fix it before a holy image: was one really reconciled with everybody? "If thou bringst any offering . . ."

Religious education was compulsory in pre-revolutionary Russia. Interesting and puzzling were these lessons. I could not believe that Moses in the wilderness had written *Leviticus;* I wondered—and triumphantly, wickedly put the question to the priest—whether Daniel had also worshipped the idol seeing that he escaped the fate of the young men in the furnace? Some of modern exegesis, without its extremes, might help many of us. (On the contrary, the cases of doubt or unbelief met with in Britain were often due to the conviction that the Scripture has been explained away by the scholars.) A year was assigned to the study of worship; how rich with meaning became rites and vestments once their symbolism was made familiar. Next would have come catechism followed by a short history of the Church; but the revolution came.

The manifesto declaring war ended by the affirmation that God was with us. There appeared also the "German God", and probably many others. On all sides clergy prayed for the success of the national army. This was the first, and for some the final, cleavage in the religious conceptions of my generation. Naturally, children wished victory to their country. But neither these national gods nor the attitude of the clergy could satisfy our consciences. Russians are precocious; much more so were we who had to face such problems. I dropped religious services, except when the whole school had to go to church. But I still practised yearly confession and communion. A secret hope that there is One different from the fighting deities still lived in our hearts.

About the age of thirteen I began to read the New Testament. Has life any meaning? Is the Scripture an answer to this query? Life, I thought, is not merely a tree cast into fire. Reasonable or good occupations obviously are insufficient: life should have an absolute, eternal meaning and purpose. The four Gospels and the *Revelation,* of which I admired the imagery without attempting to understand it, I read, but did not go further. I absorbed Russian and Western classics, and a certain amount of modern literature. Ibsen's women of cruel type appealed to me. Of Dostoevsky I remember hardly characters or plot because the whole was a soul-shaking religious event. Tolstoy the novelist seemed to be the greatest of all; but in spite of enthusiasm for his teaching with which I was surrounded, his religion rather bored me or sounded offensive (pacifism excepted). Yet it was from him I took the appeal to "active love". Intense and solitary was my inner life. One of

my school comrades partly shared in it. She was a convinced Christian, a Lutheran dissatisfied with her Church, but loyal to it to the point of "not changing even in case of marriage". She was not offered the opportunity. She died during the civil war, starving slowly and painfully, asking that the Bible be read to her, and exhorting all to live in peace and forgiveness.

"Lofty feelings" came to us chiefly through art, especially through poetry. Therefrom beauty emerged before us, and sorrow for the world as it stands. Surrounded by increasing barbarism, we loved poetry with tenderness and desperation as one loves young people doomed to an early end. To the influence of pre-war "decadent" poetry should be ascribed also a certain attitude of theoretical immoralism and disdain for "bourgeois virtues".

Was not it thrilling to be witnesses of the crash of the old *régime*? We lived in expectation of it, brought up on liberal ideas and "accusatory" literature—and what piece of Russian literature has not a tendency to be accusatory? Schoolboys and girls, we lived in constant excitement. Unknown people came to address us; we were advised "to be organized"—the slogan of the time. Our representatives expressed to Pedagogical Committees composed of our parents and teachers what we ourselves regard as a suitable system of education. Propaganda of "healthy, free relationship" of the sexes penetrated the schools. This atmosphere is well rendered in N. Ognev's *Diary of a Soviet Schoolboy,* though it describes a later period[1]. The freedom of speech which reigned in the beginning of the Revolution produced an avalanche of orators. Among political and social utopias one could also hear prophets of nudism, or of some semi-oriental philosophies; sectarians and lonely dreamers called us to enrol; adolescent and young were flattered everywhere as "the hope of the future". Rather convinced of our own importance, we ran from one meeting to another, neglecting the classes, and heedless of our families. In this way I came across a group of the "Spiritual Revolution", which aimed at "sincerity and freedom for one's inward self". It was an inoffensive set of people, very friendly. Some girls of my age proclaimed that time had come for them for "self-determination" and, moving under the roof of a common flat, they shared in discussions about their souls as well as in queues before Co-operative societies where, in way of substantial food, kippers or treacle were distributed. It may seem quite bewildering—so it partly seems to me to-day—that we two sisters hesitated to follow our parents to the South (when growing famine and impossibility to do any work drove them away); we were ready to abandon father and mother for the sake of "Spiritual Revolution". However, we moved on from Petrograd, shedding tears for the dog left behind by order of the authorities. In common with many Russian

[1] English translation, 1929.

poets, we had for that city an almost mystical devotion. This was a true first experience of exile.

Material hardships, ever since we had to put up with them, were of meagre importance to us, even in spite of the undernourishment which afflicts one with a sense of humiliation. Everybody developed anæmia, and became an easy prey to all the epidemics which soon ravaged the country. Life in the South seemed a degradation: girls of our age were ill read, and easily involved in flirtations. I hated school, and made use of my poor health by not going there. The examinations were abolished.

Faithful to the "Spiritual Revolution", I made an appeal in the school, trying to organize some sort of religious movement. Many joined after the first speech; few stayed. The director of the school, a man of theological training, was disliked by us. A dear middle-aged deacon who taught the catechism to the youngest offered to help us. (In our Church, some remain deacons for life.) He thought—erroneously—that we should be interested in elucidating the religious position of Tolstoy, and prepared Orthodox apologetics on the subject. The enterprise expired before it came to life. We needed leaders, we needed some congenial approach. I believe, looking back, that I am accurate in saying that we in no way denied Orthodoxy, we only needed more light and more links between our convictions and active life. Someone dragged me to the meetings of the adherents of Tolstoy who—well-born people for the most—in their respect for life wore wooden or felt shoes rather than leather, repeated to each other the same exhortations, and went to work on a farm of an enriched peasant professing non-resistance. Adolescence is sharp-eyed and critical . . . Why did not we possess some of these youth movements within the Church which exist now in the Church of exile? So many things would have been different. Whatever the failures of our exiled "Student Movement" (or Y.M.C.A., as not all are students; girls are also there, and all ages mixed), it gives to the young a ground to stand upon. It is most regrettable that, in spite of fidelity to the Church shown by this Movement, some of elderly people and some of clergy object to it. I know now that this period was a revival of religious life in Russia. The Patriarch was elected, new forces were gathering round him. At the time, I knew nothing of it.

Meanwhile, the civil war burst out in the North. In the South it was complicated by the struggle of diverse parties within nationalistic movements. Sometimes soldiers came to dismiss us from school and to occupy the premises; or else, on our way, somebody manipulated a machine-gun and was answered in similar manner by a body of people besieged in some house opposite. In the early spring for several days I had to cross a field in which was the corpse of an abandoned horse. Afterwards I saw sights more horrible.

Nevertheless my inner picture of the civil war remained for ever fixed: the field encompassed by a sky where mauve and golden stripes resembled the gigantic and tender petals of an iris, and the corpse every day closer and closer enveloped by an ever increasing bevy of black, lazily-moving birds. Indeed, the problem of evil and of the innocent suffering was not a theoretical one for my generation.

One evening, a dear old lady who taught me colloquial French took me to the vespers. It was long since I last went to a church. Our evening services have something very intimate and homely in them, and striking was the peaceful recollection of the priest. We Russians have an innate feeling that the church is the only place in this world where we are our true naked selves. The conviction of the divine presence is so overwhelming that we are hardly conscious of being in the presence of other people. Nobody would think it strange to see a person sobbing. At this time, moreover, many cried not only with spiritual tears but with the tears of the soul also[2]; each one had somebody dear in mortal danger, all shared in precarious and hard conditions of life. I became a faithful attendant of this church; I missed classes in order to be present at the services. There was no money in the church, the parishioners provided all they could; we organized a choir; I envied a young lady who read the psalms (a woman-reader is not an unusual case in present-day Russian services). Once soldiers rushed into the church, presumably to stop its services and to arrest "the server of cultus". Calmly, a crucifix in his hands, the priest came out to meet them; "Brethren", he said, "take off your caps, this is the house of God". The next minute he gave them his blessing and dismissed them.

Soon Germans occupied the South, and by means of menace and punishment established for a time peace and order. Trains of victuals, coal, and wood loaded to the utmost were sent to Germany. Occasionally, rumours reached us that on the Don some groups of civilians and of army people had gathered in troops and prepared to fight against the Germans and against the central power in Moscow.

My family moved to a bigger town. In the process mother was separated from us, robbed of her last belongings and left ill in some spot where by chance a friend happened to discover her and to restore her to the family. Communication with the North was interrupted. Fighting suddenly broke out everywhere. Between towns there was hardly any mail. What became of the good priest? I again stopped all devotions and did not trouble as much as to visit the old famous cathedral. The town was overcrowded. Penniless refugees from the North and wounded soldiers lived in the stations. Those who had money gave themselves to revelry. Human nerves could not stand reality; drink, love, and drugs kept people going. In a

[2] Spiritual tears are tears of contemplation; tears of the soul are of sorrow for sin or of petition for beloved ones or the world.

theatre cloak-room a beautiful young lady once offered me her powder-box: "Ever tried yet? Take some, I am generous to-day". And she used herself some "snow", cocaine. She looked quite respectable. There was no room for study. The responsibilities of grown-up persons, the anxieties of housewives facing empty shops, fell upon us all. Life went on as a strange and sometimes amusing nightmare full of slaughter, of railways, of epidemics, fires, and starvation. One had to share bread and room with people unknown yesterday and who would disappear to-morrow. Meanness and brutality would suddenly burst out; but there was more friendship, generosity, and the sublime simplicity of souls menaced by death. Some local fighting cut me off from my family. We never met again. I happened to arrive in the territory occupied by the White Army. Its defeat brought me, among the crowds of refugees, to Constantinople. We did not choose our destination; the nations distributed us among them.

The first corporate manifestation of the exiled was of two-fold character: theatrical performances and a church choir. I took part in both, but without any real religious attitude. I was intensely aware of banishment and suffering, for in the Western nations nobody seemed to care for truth about Russia but only for this or that bit of information which answered to once established political convictions, whether Left or Right. We had the bitter satisfaction of becoming intelligent and unbiased observers. Much kindness was shown to us. Exploitation was there also at times, in some cases characterized by sugary expressions of sympathy. Yet emphatically I witness to goodness, selflessness, and honesty met with among all the nations and all the classes through these years of testing. However, we saw life under too realistic an aspect to cherish a world-conception of humanistic optimism, which is utterly alien to me as it is probably to all my generation. Restricted in the power of movement, limited in possibilities of work, we soon learned the dread of a young energy reduced to inactivity. To pay in smiles and flatteries for one's right to work; to see a wealthy person take a job for amusement; to meet, unknown until then, love of money and of the power money gave; to know that bloodshed is still going on in Russia—such was one's experience, so that one had to ask, "What is this world of sin? Of what metaphysical injustice are we all victims?" Was it not already the Spirit in us Who brought this word to our lips? Secretly, the Comforter works in the groaning world of souls and nature. The soul does not understand it. The soul is still in darkness, still crying that there can be no God in this world of sorrow, where the innocent suffer always, where there could even be the cross of Golgotha.

The realization of the divinity of Christ, perfect image of God "Who so loved the world", is the only possible answer to the problem

of suffering. It brings more than acceptance of it—it plunges one into a more poignant sorrow and pain; but they are vicarious, power-giving and full of Christ's victory. Such a conviction came much later; meanwhile, some of us were drying medical herbs, hard physical work; and I was coming to the conclusion that, provided even life would offer me all that it humanly could, it was not worth while the trouble one takes to live.

A few years later (no matter how I survived), a friend took me to a gathering of the Anthroposophic Society. After all, perhaps re-incarnation would explain something of this world? Classification of heavenly hierarchies, complicated history of the cosmos, astrological influences in our life—no, it did not make it any clearer. The final authority for all these revelations did not appeal to me either: "Doctor Steiner said so". Must one take things on the ground of this assertion alone, I would much rather believe the corporate experience of Christendom. Re-incarnation created a vicious circle, a vicious endlessness. The word did not come into my mind, but I felt that, were there a spiritual world and God at all, as they believed, then surely there must come a moment of personal contact—would it be the exclamation of St. Thomas, the blindness of Saul of Tarsus, or the repentance of the crucified thief. Berdyaeff brought home the word I missed: this theosophy left no room for grace. However, my debt to the anthroposophists is not a small one: besides personal friendships, it brought me to reconsider the existence of the spiritual world; and some Russian members of the Society believed in Christ and read the Gospels. At last I opened my Bible again. No words can express the power of the Epistles when read for the first time by a grown-up person.

This seeking for God was progressing among the changeable occupations which Paris, where I had moved by then, could offer to a foreigner. I dressed dolls for a factory; sold artificial flowers; took a child for a two-hour walk; typed at nights in an empty office some private manuscripts. Attired in an evening dress or fanciful apparel of some semi-historical epoch, between the scenes in a cinematograph studio I wrote my first novel. It was written in Russian, then came out in French[3]. [I have not mentioned that I had already published a few short stories, first in Yugo-slavian, then in Russian, afterwards in French; now it becomes necessary to struggle with English—which needs revision!]

May I stop here and appeal to clergy and church people? Do not shrink at a sight of a made-up face; do not say when you meet blue eye-lashes: this race does not care for religion. Problems of life, love, and death, a quest for righteousness and justice, are no less burning for all those with whom I danced the Charleston under

3 *Les Mains vides;* editions Latines.

the blazing light of projectors than among the theological students I have met since.

Two books happened to fall in my hands. One[4] was a story of a Russian peasant in search for incessant prayer. The invocation, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me a sinner", has a long spiritual history in the Orthodox world. Many contemplatives were brought up almost exclusively on this "prayer of Jesus". The other book was the autobiography of the young French saint, Theresa of Lisieux, *The History of a Soul.* This simple narrative of love for God, this life of no events, sounded no less convincing than—whatever the difference of the personalities—St. Augustine's *Confessions* read later. Theresa—let the reader not be frightened of my "superstition"!—remained my own saint, and I sometimes recommend other people to her prayer. Later, a few Russian saints came nearer. And does it not happen that people who exclude from their spiritual life prayerful memory of their departed and exclude the thought of their intercession for us experience great difficulty in believing in eternal life?: the Resurrection of Christ becomes for many only a survival of His ideas in the minds of the disciples.

There was neither time available nor library at my disposal. Occasional, unsystematic reading, and the chatter of literary people in *cafés,* such was my university. Some Catholic books were given to me, and I read a series on various monastic orders, their founders and history. I conceived a great admiration for the genius of spiritual education and organization which seemed to mark the Church of Rome. Occasionally, outside the service hours, I dropped into Catholic churches. Impressive was their silence, and the iridescent light streaming from the windows; someone was always there in act of adoration. Some French Calvinists I met used also to go there for a prayer in the middle of their working-day and felt grieved that their own temples were locked except on Sundays.

A girl-dancer who in her spare time pursued systematic study in philosophy, told me very imperatively to go to a lecture by N. A. Berdyaeff. Looking back I realize that indirectly this proved a turning-point, and is bound up with my present religious position. These lectures were organized by the professors of the Russian Theological Institute; it was an evening course, giving a systematic outlook in religion and philosophy. The audience, mostly people working in day-time, included men and women of all ages. Some worked in study groups; I joined that of Prof. Berdyaeff. His personal friendliness was a great comfort; he understood the anguish of mind and soul of someone knocking at a door without a firm conviction that there is anyone behind it to open. Only once, on a rainy night, at the tram stop where the girl-dancer and I used

[4] English tr., R. M. French, *The Way of a Pilgrim.*

to see him off, he asked: "Are you sure that this quest after God is not a pretext for not living according to Him?" We were sure the problem of life was not for us in terms of good or bad, happy or unhappy, but in the decision whether or not God exists. Later on my friend gave up the stage.

"The Holy Ghost in us is sometimes expressed by an incomprehensible dejection and anguish amidst our occupations", said a Russian Bishop of the last century. My book came out and was well reviewed; material conditions began to improve. However the thought again woke up that, were all the riches and successes of this world mine, none would satisfy me unless there were an Absolute—purpose and Person—behind it all. A convent . . . To join a community . . . A person who had to bear my changing moods retorted logically and with some irritation that such lamentations are sheer nonsense coming from a person who never sets her foot inside a church. This critic did not realize that already I was praying, even though prefacing or concluding all by an "If Thou art". Nor did anyone know of the inner decision to investigate about God and the Church even should it mean an effort of some years with concentration similar to that demanded by any other research.

A problem which was not a theoretical one for my generation, and begins to be of reality to the Western world, was answered through the lectures of Berdyaeff. What is the place of man in this world? Has human personality any right to existence? Must it not degenerate into that isolation and selfishness of which the capitalistic system gives such painful illustrations? Should collectivity replace that system and absorb the individual or reduce it to a mechanical thing? The reconciliation of both presented itself in the form of the Christian Church. Here, a personality could develop to its utmost, in full variety of life, while the corporate and loving character of the Church would guarantee against any misuse of freedom. Distinctions of race and age are overcome in the Church: the Body, it is called, organism rather than a metaphor.

Scattered among nations, we had full chance of examining the diversity of creeds. Some groups, we knew, reject all formulation of belief. How then, one wondered, could a new member join them? On what ground? In the world where each one has to take a position and defend or at least clearly define it, such benevolent vagueness could not be ours. The Roman standpoint, on the other hand, was intellectually unacceptable. Acceptance of traditional belief, fullness of spiritual and intellectual Christian heritage, yet a much more free theological thought than in Rome—this was the claim of the Orthodox Church. I was choosing my own faith again. There was conviction behind it—no sentimental memories of childhood would keep me within a religious body. Moreover I thought not in terms

of Russian Church but in terms of Orthodox Church. This was reinforced later on by study and by feeling as well. It is inspiring to read that the disciples began to be called Christians in Antioch and to think that there is up to now an Orthodox Patriarchate; the same with Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople. The sad history of Eastern Christianity, centuries of oppression bound up with historical imperfections and, in some cases, cultural backwardness, made the cause of the Orthodox world even dearer as an appeal to reveal Orthodoxy to ourselves and to others as a call for service. But here I anticipate. Meanwhile, the fact of divisions was there before one's eyes, appalling, scandalous, keeping some away from God because of quarrelling denominations. Then and there I knew that, were I to find God, suffering for disunion would be always mine. I did not dream of any "activity" in the field of reunion; I did not even know that a reunion movement existed. The only sure and possible field was personal approach to various Christians, prayer in common, service, and a non-compromising yet loving spirit. Gradually there ripened a conviction that no progress of thought would be possible unless one's conscience were purified. The wisdom of the Church offered confession, and I willingly followed traditional ways. One summer day I began to fast and to attend the services twice a day. The celebrant's serious concentrated manner was a great help. Yet when by the end of the week I asked the verger to tell the priest I wanted to confess, he called for some other priest. This did not matter; it was not a particular man I sought, but God's forgiveness. During this week my life stood before me in its true light—God granted me the conviction of sin. Only later I translated it into the spiritual sequence of the Gospels: Repent and believe.

How can the Protestant world live without this blessing? It is true, there are all the time some forms of confession. But is it not safer to approach an experienced man brought up in the knowledge of inner life than to entrust one's difficulties to a dashing lady of the Groups or to a young Salvationist? And can ever a reading or a most sincere talk replace the authority by which "an unworthy priest, by His power given to him", absolves a soul from its burden, promising to it reconciliation with God and men and newness of life? A faulty situation which did not depend on me alone to alter could have embarrassed a strict moral legalist. The old priest, taking into account the facts, exhorted me to pray for further enlightenment, warned me against eternal judgment and the condemnation of an unworthy communion, and then absolved me. The restoration to the fellowship of the believers—to us outsiders it often seems that there is little of it in the Protestant world. People expect a sinner to have "changed" before he re-appears in the society. The past would still hinder a full free admittance among the faithful. Our attitude is different. What a calm joy it was, for example, when one Sunday

a murderer came into the church, released by the jury, together with the person who caused his *crime passionnel*. Maybe that we are more ungoverned and sinful than other nations and therefore do not dare to condemn.

For a contemplative the prayer of Jesus is the point of recollection, the way of union. For a beginner, the repetition of this Holy Name is a safeguard against so many daily temptations. Can a tongue which repeats it tell a lie, or gossip? Is not a tiresome woman in the bus included in His mercy? May He not speak through the pages of a novel; may He not reveal Himself to those who sleep and those whose lot is insomnia? Slowly, laboriously, faith and hope re-educate the old man. The reading of the New Testament became my first occupation in the morning. I chose to read it according to the Church calendar: it brought a deep sense of development in harmony with the spiritual life of others, and fellowship with those far away. The daily set of prayers, so expressive most of them, increased still more this link with the rest of Orthodox Christendom, in its present and in its past. There is such a strengthening in the remembrance of generations who went to God by the path of these same invocations. Our Student Movement organized conferences; no problem was solved there for me, but some points were elucidated, and there were other men and women striving after God, and above all, there was worship. Its corporate character came first to me through the conferences, and later, with more understanding and intensity, in parish life. Overcoming loneliness, we suddenly realize how very ordinary we are, and how small are some of our problems. It is a salutary experience, even if a bit disappointing at first. Next comes the realization of the fact that the harvest is plentiful but there are no working hands. With service comes love. Without having had any time to grow or to learn, one is faced by the urgency of hungry, suffering bodies and souls. Then comes true repentance: not only for wrong which has been done but for all that has been wasted—love, strength, time. Every day is like new life. Knowledge confirms what was first felt. Foolishly, without hesitation, one repeats to those in distress the words of hope: *Not a sparrow . . . Do not doubt: death itself is not the end. Perhaps somewhere across the ocean somebody will think, say, or do something which will change the whole. Life, once we let God enter it, has limitless possibilities.*

It proved true in my case: the new world happened to be the College of the Ascension, Selly Oak, of whose existence I did not even know, and Oxford.

# POPULATION TRENDS AND THE OUTLOOK FOR THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

By W. F. Crick.

At first sight, a study of actual and prospective changes in the size and composition of Britain's population is not perhaps one that appeals, by its immediate relevance, to people urgently concerned with the life and health of the Christian churches. To Congregationalists least of all should it be necessary to observe that the force of the Christian faith and the weight of its influence upon society depend far less upon numbers and organization than upon the vitality of the individual, working within the compass of his own circumstances. Yet the vitality of the individual can be sustained by active and smoothly working association with people of like mind, or sapped by constant pre-occupation with problems of order, continuity, or even survival, of associations which in the past have proved mutually helpful and externally constructive. This is only to say that even the most confirmed Independent cannot close his eyes to problems of church life; nor can he fail to be anxious, in face of the facts as he knows them, about the outlook for its maintenance as an active force in the affairs of society.

To some extent, no doubt, the difficulties everywhere to be seen are the result of defects in the structure and working of the churches long present but only of late years becoming apparent through their obvious effects, as in the decline in numbers, waning enthusiasm, faltering loyalty, and the ever-present budgetary problem which dissipates energy and undermines effort. They are, however, traceable also in part to external influences arising from physical, social, and moral trends in society, some but by no means all of which, despite their incidence upon church life, are rightly to be included under the heading of "progress". It is, then, both realistic and practical to turn our eyes at times away from matters of internal organization in order to consider the actual and probable contribution of external forces to the solution or exacerbation of our problems. Among these external forces the trends of population rank high in order of importance, for the early future if not for the immediate present.

The fact is easily overlooked that in our own country the churches approached and attained their greatest strength, in numbers, activity, and probably also in influence on the life of the nation, at a time when the population was rapidly growing. It is the structure and method of church life evolved in that era—very different, as we shall see, from the period on which we have now entered—that we have inherited and find so difficult to maintain. I have made no research

to support or correct me at this point, but my impression is that a very large number, perhaps even the majority, of Congregational churches were established during the nineteenth century; and the average family in mid-Victorian days was roughly three times as large as it is to-day. In the fifty years to 1901 the population of England and Wales grew from 18 millions to 32½ millions, and by 1911 it had reached 36 millions. The mere fact of a growing population, given the part which church associations played in the social life of the people, implied a steady increase in the strength of the churches, especially in view of the progressive concentration of people in urban communities. But a further factor, bound up with numerical growth, promoted the health of the churches. The continuous expansion in numbers entailed a larger quota of children and young people than under conditions of stability or decline. In 1880, *e.g.*, the death-rate was 21½ per thousand of population and the birth-rate 35½; thirty-five babies were born to replace every twenty-one people, most of them old, who died. It is to this fact, very largely, that the growth of the Sunday School movement during the period must be ascribed, while, provided the rate of recruitment was only just maintained, the churches were thus assured of numerical growth. These were the features in our population trends which favoured the steady development in numbers of church adherents and active workers, and in the influence of the churches on the character and behaviour of the people.

In the development of church organization, as in all other departments of the common life, in the era of expansion no one paused to reflect upon what the conditions might be if a turn in the trend of population were to take place. Indeed, it is only of late years that sociologists and economists in general have perceived the change of trend and have begun to consider its implications. Politicians in this country have given the subject only the most casual glance. As for the statesmen of our churches, it would appear that only in the Roman and to a slight extent the Anglican bodies have the facts been explicitly observed, and then only by way of stimulating thought with regard to causes, in their moral setting, without much regard for the reactions upon the welfare of the churches. It is to this last aspect that attention is urgently demanded, if we are not to find ourselves totally unprepared for the onslaught of external forces making for disintegration, nothing less!

Consideration of present facts and early probabilities will remove any first impression that this is an unduly alarmist statement. It must be observed, however, at the outset that the facts about our population are not yet known in such detail as would permit an assured study of causes; while, as to the probabilities, their formulation must necessarily be based on assumptions which might conceivably be falsified. In particular, in making the projections into the

future which are summarized below, it has been assumed that present trends in birth and death rates, size of family, and so on will continue. This reasonable assumption forms the basis for the best available estimates of future changes in the population. In outlining the conclusions arrived at I have drawn freely upon an invaluable pamphlet, *The Future of our Population?*, published by the Population Investigation Committee[1]. This is a body composed of statisticians, economists, sociologists, and representatives of the medical profession, which, while fully autonomous, has associations with various learned societies and professional organizations. Its objects are to assemble and study the data and to draw public attention to the trends revealed.

The first fact which bears closely upon our subject is that, although the population has been increasing rapidly until recent years, and is still growing, though now almost imperceptibly, the increase has been due to a decline in the death-rate and not to a rise in the birth-rate; on the contrary, the birth-rate has been falling heavily for at least fifty years, and is now less than one-half of what it was in 1880. This means two things: first, that the population has been getting steadily older, and secondly, that very soon we may expect the number of births to be exceeded by the number of deaths. The outcome of trends which have become well established is, then, a probable decline in the total number of people and a continuing growth in the proportion consisting of old men and women.

It is none of our business here to consider whether on economic and social grounds a shrinkage in the total population—with all that is implied in regard to the age composition thereof—should be welcomed or regarded as a matter for alarm; certainly it is likely to engender or accentuate some acute problems in these fields. Nor, strictly speaking, are we concerned with the reasons why mothers are bringing far fewer babies into the world than their grandmothers did. But the reasons, so far as they are known, may perhaps shed light on our inquiry, and we may briefly indicate the nature of at least a few of them. Here we are in the realm of speculation, for no definite and comprehensive data are available. Still, it is possible to say quite definitely that a basic direct reason for the smaller size of families is the now widespread knowledge of means, unknown to the vast majority of people in earlier generations, whereby births can be avoided as an outcome of marital relations. "Easy contraception", says R. F. Harrod, "is undoubtedly a new factor in man's environment and one that clearly bears the hall-mark of paramount importance"[2]. As to why people choose to make use of these

[1] 69 Eccleston Sq., London, S.W.1 (6d.). A notably clear and simple exposition of population statistics and their meaning was given by A. M. Carr-Saunders, one of the leading authorities on the subject, in a broadcast talk published in *The Listener* (13th April, 1939).

[2] *The Manchester School*, Vol. X., No. 1.

facilities, various contributory reasons have been put forward: they range from sheer selfishness and unwillingness to accept the responsibilities and ties of parenthood; through insufficiency of means for bringing up children in the manner deemed desirable, the difficulty of securing adequate domestic help, and the limited size of the typical modern house; to deliberate "planning" of family life in the belief that quality is best served by concentrating effort on a few, and to the avoidance of children because of genuine concern as to the condition of the world in which they would have to live. Among reasons operating outside marriage itself are various factors tending to defer the average age at which marriage takes place, and thus to reduce the child-bearing period of the average married woman. To all these, many people would add an alleged decline in the standard of moral conduct, which sets up or strengthens unwillingness to accept the responsibilities of married life or, having accepted these, the further responsibilities of parenthood. In short, the lower birth-rate is the result chiefly of the spread of knowledge, and its use on an ever-increasing scale from motives which are not only mixed and complex, but almost impossible to separate and estimate, and probably beyond analysis even by the individual himself.

Yet, however obscure the reasons, the consequences are clear. According to the best available estimates, assuming that present trends continue, the population will turn downward in the early 'forties, and the decline will be greatly accelerated as time goes on. Whereas the population of England and Wales in 1936 was nearly 41 millions, it may well be less than 38 millions by 1960, and 29 millions by 1980. Thus some of us now in middle age will find, in our old age, only three people living in the place of every four alive at this moment. Even more striking are the actual and prospective changes in the age composition of the population. Nowadays, out of every hundred people living, 23 are below fifteen years of age—considerably fewer even than just before the war; but it is likely that by 1965 there will be only ten of them in every hundred, and by the end of the century only four. At the other end of the scale, we have about twelve people over sixty in every hundred of our population; but by 1965 we shall have 24, and by the end of the century 44. Fewer young people; more and more aged: not enough young people to fill the places of those dropping out of the ranks through natural death.

Some doubt may perhaps be cast upon these projections into the future—they are far from pretending to be a prophecy—because, as already remarked, they presuppose the continuance of present trends in the birth and death rates, which may quite possibly be modified or even reversed. The fact is, however, that for simple physiological reasons even the largest conceivable change can hardly alter very much the size and composition of the population for

some time to come. The crucial determinant is the "net reproduction rate", a measure of the extent to which women now of child-bearing age are giving birth to girl children who will survive and in due time take their place in motherhood. If on this mathematical test just enough girls are being born for purposes of continuous replacement, then the net reproduction rate is one; but in fact the rate for this country now is computed at ·764[3], which is to say that only 764 girl babies are being born, with a probability of survival, to take the place of a thousand of to-day's women of child-bearing age. Put in another way, our population will decrease at the rate of one-quarter per generation unless mortality declines or the average family becomes larger. Clearly, however, a sudden change in favour of larger families would not have its full effects on the population for years to come; the newly-born girl babies have first to reach the reproductive age, and then to find fathers for their prospective children.

No more is necessary, to emphasize the seriousness of the outlook, than to call attention to the contrast between the conditions and prospects just outlined and those which prevailed during the earlier era. Small wonder that sociologists and economists are devoting more and more attention to the problems arising from so radical a change. Unhappily, they are handicapped by lack of information, which should be partly made good, in course of time, by the added particulars now required to be given, on registration of a birth, in accordance with the Population (Statistics) Act of 1938[4]. Incidentally, a study of the debates preceding the passage of that Act reveals wide diversity of opinion as to the causes of the trends, ranging from "the modern way of looking at things" and "the decay of religion" to some possible "vital factor in modern civilization . . . that is undermining the fertility of the people generally in either sex". Although, however, not all is known that might with advantage be known on the subject, the general direction of current trends is sufficiently clear.

The bearing of these movements upon the future of church life, more especially in our own body, with its emphasis upon the autonomy of the group, will already have become apparent. Before attempting, however, to formulate more concrete notions it is important to observe that, just as insufficiency of data impedes study of the economic and social problems involved, so also the almost entire lack of relevant information precludes anything approaching

3 It may be of interest to note here that the rate for Scotland is higher (though again below one), that Australia, New Zealand and the United States show rates very near to one, while those for Ukraine and Japan exceed one-and-a-half. The net reproduction rate for our own country was about 1·5 in 1881. The significance and implications of the movements in the rate were strikingly shown in an address by Lord Horder reported at length in *The Times*, 24 May, 1939.

4 In addition to particulars given hitherto, the age of the mother, the date of marriage, and some other related data must be recorded.

detailed investigation of what is happening and likely to happen in the affairs of our churches. Here are some of the questions on which fuller knowledge is urgently to be desired: What proportions of our active church members—that is, members taking a full part in the conduct of their churches' affairs—are over, say, sixty years of age, and what proportions under thirty? Do these proportions differ widely according to the neighbourhoods, rural or urban, well-off or relatively poor, expanding or contracting, in which the churches are placed? What are the proportions on the diaconates and among the office-bearers of the churches in the various branches of their work? What proportions of married active church members have husbands or wives who are also active church members? What is the average size of the families represented by parents in the membership of our churches (if, on the whole, our churches draw the bulk of their membership from the relatively better-off sections of the community, the average family represented in church membership is probably even smaller than the crude statistics for the whole population would show)? What proportions of the children of church members are in our Sunday Schools, and what proportions do these children represent of the totals in our schools? What proportions of new church members in recent years consist of the offspring of active church members?

Doubtless a few individuals with extensive knowledge of the churches have some rough—but probably too rough—idea of the answers to these questions and the changes that are taking place; many others would have some opinion about them, based upon their own too limited experience; and the knowledge of those who do know is stored up in heads which cannot perform their function of supply for many more years to come. There is, then, no assured body of fact, nor even a reliable sample of representative fact, and until there is we can hardly hope to formulate, let alone pursue with the vigour that urgency requires, a long-term policy in church life which would take account of the radical changes in external circumstances. There are, certainly, many more urgent tasks to claim our energies than the mere gathering of statistics, but a little effort in this direction would make a disproportionately large contribution to the avoidance of wastage and conservation of resources in the decades lying ahead. The returns, if compiled at intervals of years, would provide invaluable material for more reliable study of church progress or retrogression than is now practicable. Are we too short-sighted, too pre-occupied, to take a long view? Though we may fail to take that view, the trends of population are inexorable, and they can hardly fail to bring our successors face to face with problems for which we shall then have done little or nothing to prepare them. What glimmering of preliminary light can be thrown upon the nature of these problems?—I say "preliminary" because I am not one of

those few who are justified by their extensive knowledge to speak in answer to the questions of fact set out in the preceding paragraph.

First, it seems evident that, if present population trends continue, the young men just leaving our theological colleges will be required to minister to three people for every four now in membership, unless a larger proportion of the available people comes to be associated with the churches. The churches themselves, if not reduced in number, will have fewer people, on the average, to maintain them and conduct their affairs. Some may reach the point of exhaustion—a process which, as many people can testify from their own experience, is intensified by the geographical shifts of population, quite apart from changes in the total. Unless the probabilities are faced by co-ordinated, guided policy, they threaten competition for survival among churches of different denominations, or even of the same order—competition both exhausting to themselves and debilitating to Christian effort in general. The choice we are faced with is between attrition and consolidation. As to the changing age composition of the people, already our Sunday Schools are suffering from diminution in the numbers of available children, and the trends now evident may have a shattering effect upon our Sunday-School organization, as well as upon the general structure of church life. On the one hand, pastoral work will demand more and more ministration to old people; on the other hand, it will become even more urgently necessary for the churches to gain the active adherence of a larger proportion of the diminishing supply of young people. Otherwise the work and responsibilities of the churches will have to be borne, to an even larger extent than to-day, by elderly men and women.

These disturbing possibilities evidently demand the attention of church leaders of all denominations, for they have a strong bearing on such immediate problems as the training of ministers, the establishment of new churches, the amalgamation of existing churches, and so forth. It is therefore good to know that the Social Service Committee of the Congregational Union has been entrusted with the task of investigating the subject and its implications for our own churches. It would be better still to know that inquiries preparatory to vigorous action were being taken on an interdenominational basis. There is, however, one task which can be taken up at once and steadily performed without reference to the nature of the findings or recommendations of any committee: it is to exercise constant watchfulness and take all possible steps to ensure that in public and expert consideration of the subject, in its many bearings, its moral and spiritual aspects shall not be overlooked. It is part and parcel of a whole nexus of matters—such as the frequency of divorce, the practice of birth control, non-marital relationships, the treatment of illegitimacy, and so on—which are bound up inextricably

with the moral and spiritual health of the people. If anything is the business of the churches, this is. A lamentable feature of the Parliamentary debates on the Population (Statistics) Bill was the almost total absence of reference to these aspects of the trends of population. It is for the churches to insist that the subject is not one to be left entirely to the attention of biological and sociological experts, who, with all respect, tend to become mechanistic in their approach, or to hard-headed "practical men" who visualize the subject in terms of man-power, national prestige, imperial development, "racial survival and strength", standards of living, and similar settings. Meanwhile they, the churches, should look to their own survival as agencies of spiritual redemption for the individual and society; for many of them, nothing less than survival is at stake.

## THE AGONY OF GOD

I listen to the agony of God—
I who am fed,
Who never yet went hungry for a day.
I see the dead—
The children starved for lack of bread—
I see and try to pray.

I listen to the agony of God—
I who am warm,
Who never yet have lacked a sheltering home.
In dull alarm
The dispossessed of hut and farm
Aimless and "transient" roam.

I listen to the agony of God—
I who am strong,
With health, and love, and laughter in my soul.
I see a throng
Of stunted children reared in wrong
And wish to make them whole.

I listen to the agony of God—
But know full well
That not until I share their bitter cry—
Earth's pain and hell—
Can God within my spirit dwell
To bring His Kingdom nigh.

—Georgia E. Harkness.

# CHALCEDONIAN ORTHODOXY; AS SEEN IN ITS CHIEF ANCIENT EXPONENT.

By Silas Rees, B.A., D.D.

In 1917 Dr. H. M. Relton published *A Study in Christology*. It was a re-statement of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, or the doctrine of the Two Natures in Christ. More particularly, it was the first serious discussion in English of the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium, with special reference to his distinctive doctrine of *Enhypostasia*, or the "impersonal" manhood of Christ. By means of this doctrine Leontius, in the first half of the sixth century A.D., endeavoured to re-interpret the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon (451). What Dr. Relton does in the twentieth century is, in effect, to re-interpret the doctrine of *Enhypostasia* for modern Christians, with a view to rehabilitate the Definition of Chalcedon.

In the fifth century itself the Definition was resolutely opposed. The expression "in two natures"[1] gave offence to religious feeling in the East, as seeming to imply two centres of consciousness in Christ. The Encyclical of Basiliscus (476) condemned the Tome of Leo, the Council of Chalcedon, and the partisans thereof. The Henoticon of Zeno (482) was an attempt to re-unite orthodox and anti-Chalcedonian on the basis of the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). It ignored the Council of Chalcedon. The result was schism (484-519) between Rome and the Eastern patriarchates, which had accepted the Henoticon. At this juncture appeared the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, self-styled Areopagite, convert of St. Paul, but in reality a disciple of Proclus[2], the Neo-Platonic philosopher (d. 485). Pseudo-Dionysius betrays a knowledge of the works of Cyril of Alexandria, to mention only one of the Fathers. In general, he seems to follow the Christology of Cyril and emphasizes the unity of the Person of Christ. He transcends in mystical fashion the dualism of Chalcedon, and attempts to regain the original, intuitional image of the Person of Christ.

This manner of dealing with the Two-Nature teaching of Chalcedon was an evasion of the problem, *viz.*, how was it possible to have two natures but one Person in Christ? Pseudo-Dionysius retreated upon Cyril, who did not live to see the Council of Chalcedon. He made no attempt to analyze the Unity of Christ into its distinctive elements or to show how those elements were combined. He was able, it is true, to conciliate religious feeling in the East by his emphasis upon the unity of the Person. He was quoted

[1] J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (1909), 12, n. 5, argues that this was the original reading in the Acts of Chalcedon; the Latin text has *in duabus naturis*.

[2] So Stiglmayr, *Der hl. Dionysius Areopagita* (1911); this conclusion is shared by the great majority of scholars.

with approval by Easterners like Leontius of Byzantium and Severus of Antioch; that is, by Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian alike. But it was not enough to satisfy a religious interest: the terms of Chalcedon included both a scientific and a historical interest[3]. Back of Chalcedon lay the decisions of Nicaea (325) and of Constantinople (381). Chalcedon gathered into one statement the beliefs of orthodox Christians from the second to the fifth centuries: in the Person of Christ there are two distinct and complete natures, the divine and the human, which are united without confusion. The scientific interest may be traced to the Categories of Aristotle. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth century relied upon the Categories for the important distinction between nature or substance, on the one hand, and hypostasis or person, on the other. This distinction is perpetuated by Leontius, and is applied to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Underlying the thought of Leontius is the idea of a fundamental difference between God and man. The sharp distinction drawn by Athanasius between divine and human nature—a chasm between the infinite and the finite, over which only a Divine Being could pass—is a characteristic conception of Greek theology which was taken over by Leontius. The Council of Chalcedon had set its seal upon this teaching, which was shared in the West by Pope Leo of Rome (440-461). It lies at the basis of the Christological problem. Closely connected with this idea was the belief of orthodox Christians in a real redemption of human nature brought about by a real Incarnation. Athanasius, echoing the thought of Irenaeus, had said that God became man that man might become God. This is inseparable from the theology of Leontius: the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation go hand in hand. Leontius quotes an axiom of Gregory of Nazianzus that the doctrine of the Incarnation is in one respect the opposite of that of the Trinity. In the Godhead, says Leontius[4], we confess three hypostases, but one nature. How shall we refuse to admit two natures, but one hypostasis, in the Incarnation, seeing that an opposite is a complete conversion? Leontius is endeavouring to throw light on the Person of Christ by reference to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Standing upon the tradition of the Fathers, and armed with the sober science of Aristotle, Leontius proceeds to the defence of the Person of Christ. In company with the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon, he subscribes to the philosophy of Aristotle when he says that there can be no such thing as a nature without hypostasis. That is, a universal is always to be observed in particulars, and does not exist apart from them. How does this apply to the Two-Nature

3 The defence of Chalcedon was also an important element in the imperial and ecclesiastical policy of Justinian (527-565).

4 Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 86, 1904 C.

teaching? By the Definition of Chalcedon there are two natures in Christ. Secondly, nature does not exist apart from hypostasis. From these two premisses it had been inferred that there are two hypostases in Christ. In rejecting this inference Leontius explains that two natures do not necessarily involve two hypostases. Hypostasis, he says[5], may include more than one nature. Different natures may possess a community of existence in one another. This is shown by the natures of soul and of body in the hypostasis or person of man. Whatever one may think of the illustration, it is only fair to add that Leontius is aware of its inadequacy. Christ is both God and man. Not man alone, consisting of the natures of soul and body, but also God. Christ is unique:

> There is no species of Christs as there is of men, so that one member of that species could be called an individual Christ among many such individuals[6].

Even in the Person of Christ, however, it would be false to say that two natures involve two hypostases. Agreed that a nature does not exist without hypostasis, what follows? The human nature of Christ, while it is logically entitled to an hypostasis, does not possess an independent hypostasis of its own. It is otherwise with the divine nature of Christ, which already possessed an hypostasis of its own, *viz.*, that of the Word who became flesh. The Divine Word took the form of man and brought the human nature into conjunction with the divine nature, so that the two natures found a community of existence in the One Person. This is the doctrine of *Enhypostasia,* by which it is meant that the humanity of Christ is "impersonal": the real seat of personality is the Divine Word. This does not mean that the humanity of Christ is either an "accident" or a "quality", but a complete nature consisting of soul and body. It is contemplated not in itself, but in combination with the nature of divinity in the Person of the Word. The doctrine of *Enhypostasia* involves a close, dynamic union and indwelling of the two natures.

As we have seen, Leontius attempts to illustrate the doctrine by the union of soul and of body in man. He does not say whether it is the soul or the body which is "impersonal". A second example is that of the flaming torch[7]. The wick is one thing, the burning substance of fire another. But when combined with each other, and contained in one another, they together make a single torch. By a forced use of language it may be said that fire has been made wood, and wood fire. The wood participates in the glowing of the fire, the fire receives a share of the gross materiality of the torch, and each exchanges its properties with the other, while yet each persists in its own permanent and unconfused identity. As in the illustration of man, so in the analogy of the flaming torch, Leontius does not say

5 86, 1277 D—1280 B. 6 86, 1292, A B. 7 86, 1304, B C.

which of the elements is "impersonal". There is, however, another passage[8] in which our author is more explicit:

> Yet we do not hold that the human nature of Christ existed in some hypostasis peculiar to it alone, that is to say, the hypostasis of an ordinary man, but in the hypostasis of the Word which existed before it. . . . One hypostasis, and one only, He truly is, and that not a human hypostasis. For it has the divine nature and properties, but it does not stand in these alone. It abounds also in those characteristics which result from the assumption of the more recent (*i.e.*, human) nature. We have to notice this feature similarly in red-hot iron. The mass of iron, pre-existing in its own hypostasis, is subsequently placed in the furnace, where a nature of fire is begotten in it, in addition to its original nature. This fire had no existence, either at a previous time, or in its own hypostasis. It exists only in the hypostasis of the iron.

In this example the nature of fire is "impersonal", like the human nature in Christ.

By the aid of such analogies Leontius attempts to describe the personal union of the natures. It is union achieved by a Divine Person. Perhaps the most characteristic result of the union is a communication of properties[9]. More particularly, it is the divine nature which communicates its attributes to the human, not the human to the divine. In this way the human nature is raised to the height of the supernatural. The supernatural action of the Divine Word upon the human nature exalts it to a higher perfection and to deeds which could not have been performed by its remaining on the plane of the natural. But the supernatural does not impair or efface the natural: no violence is done to human nature. The action of the Word may be compared to an artist who changes the natural unshapeliness of the material to a more beautiful form, and brings it to a state of higher usefulness[10].

Such, in brief, is the distinctive contribution of Leontius. What are we to say of it? The doctrine of *Enhypostasia* is the culminating point reached by Greek theology in its endeavour, upon the foundation of purely "physical" categories, such as nature and hypostasis, to secure for the manhood of Christ the fullest possible recognition. It rests upon the formal recognition of the perfection of the humanity of Christ, which became a standard conception in the Church after the condemnation of the Christology of Apollinarius (381). More than a formal recognition men like Cyril and Leontius, who are representative of the School of Alexandria, were unable to give. Physical categories, it is submitted, are not capable of furnishing a real description of the Incarnation in its moral and intellectual aspects. In fact, it is not too much to say that the Christology of Cyril and of Leontius represents no real advance upon that of

[8] 86, 1552 D—1553 A. [9] 86, 1289 C. [10] 86, 1333 A—D.

Apollinarius. In support of this contention one may refer to the teaching of Cyril and of Leontius.

On the question of the ignorance of Christ[11] there are a number of passages[12] which set forth Cyril's opinion fairly clearly. Let one of these passages suffice:

> As far as He is God, He knows all things as doth the Father; but in so far as He is also man, He does not shake off the appearance of ignorance. . . . When, therefore, the disciples wished to learn things about them, He usefully pretended not to know, and said that not even the angels in heaven knew.

Leontius is indignant with Theodore of Mopsuestia, not only because the latter imputed ignorance to Christ, but also because he endeavoured to give ethical meaning to the temptations of Christ. The following is a sample of the style in which Leontius[13] tilts against Theodore:

> You cover Christ with the darkness of ignorance, and represent Him as knowing nothing, except what it seemed good to the Word, Who was united to Him by virtue of merit. When you represent Him as full of ignorance, do you not also imply that He is full of sin? Sin issues from ignorance as a river from a spring. . . . But you say He was so ignorant that He did not know who it was that tempted Him.

The charges against Theodore are exaggerated, but it is clear that Leontius rules out any possibility of ignorance on the part of Christ, in spite of the Scripture which says: "He grew in wisdom and in stature". It is also clear that both Cyril and Leontius dodge the issue raised by the ignorance of Christ. And it is very refreshing to come upon an orthodox writer, like the author of the *De Sectis,* who lived towards the end of the sixth century, who does not dodge the issue:

> If He is said to be in all things consubstantial with us, and we are ignorant of some things, obviously He too was ignorant[14].

The doctrine of *Enhypostasia,* although designed to defend the Two-nature teaching of Chalcedon, succeeds in defending only one of the natures, and that the divine. The unlimited Logos crushes out the humanity of Christ in its most vital sphere, *viz.,* the intellectual and the moral. Nor is it evident that such a defence of Chalcedon had any marked success. In the age of Leontius the opponents of Chalcedon were men of considerable ability, if one is to judge from Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512-518). They were also men of considerable orthodoxy. It has been remarked[15] that the attempt to distinguish between the Christology of Severus and that of Cyril has not proved successful. Two modern writers[16]

11 See *Mt.* 24[36]; *Mk.* 13[32].
12 Collected and translated by Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ,* 366 ff.
13 86, 1373 B. 14 86, 1264 B.
15 By Harnack, *History of Dogma* (E.T., 1898), IV. 236.
16 Junglas, *Leontius von Byzanz* (1908), 105-125; and Lebon, *op. cit.,* 118-175.

who have examined the teaching of Severus on the Person of Christ unite in asserting his orthodoxy. His Christology is really the Christology of Cyril. The reason why Severus deserves the name of Monophysite is that he opposed the Definition of Chalcedon. The fact that Cyril belonged to the pre-Chalcedonian era saved him from being called a Monophysite. But it must also be said that Leontius, even though he attempted to defend Chalcedon in a most ingenious manner, actually emerges as a proponent of the One Nature in Christ. The Christology of Leontius is one with that of Severus and Cyril. They all represent the point of view of the School of Alexandria.

It is curious that the teaching of Severus, an opponent of Chalcedon, has been found to be as orthodox as that of Leontius, the staunch defender of Chalcedon. But it is not surprising, especially in view of the fact that both Severus and Leontius lean hard upon the Christology of Cyril, a very pillar of orthodoxy. By them the emphasis was steadily laid upon an unlimited Logos in comparison with Whom the human nature in Christ was denied any real significance. Granted that it was necessary to re-affirm the faith of Christians that "God was in Christ", why is the humanity of Christ reduced to absurdity? No amount of ingenuity, no doctrine of *Enhypostasia,* can wholly remove the impression that the manhood of Christ is an unreal thing, a phantom, an appearance merely. This impression is deepened as we watch the development of the teaching of the School of Alexandria. In the days of Leontius, Julian of Halicarnassus went so far as to profess the doctrine of the incorruptibility of the body of Christ. This was also the faith of the Emperor Justinian (527-565) in his later days.

It is more than doubtful whether the doctrine of *Enhypostasia* can be interpreted for modern Christians so as to conserve the reality of Christ's humanity. It is, after all, a "physical" category, which cannot do justice to the vital facts of human nature. Any thoroughgoing re-statement of it must, it is submitted, result in a radical transformation: a "physical" is changed into a moral category. The doctrine cannot maintain its integrity after it has been electrified with the categories of the twentieth century. It is hopeless to pour new wine into old bottles. But the attempt to give real value to the human nature of Christ must not be abandoned. It is to the credit of the School of Antioch that men like Theodore of Mopsuestia, in the fourth century, grappled seriously with the problem. Theodore, an able commentator of the Scriptures, took his stand upon the facts of the life of Christ as they are recorded in the New Testament. He began with these, and not with the idea of an unlimited Logos.

The wrath of Leontius[17] is concentrated upon Theodore. Theodore is held responsible for the teaching of Nestorius. He is denounced

17 See 86, 1357 B—1396 A.

for his critical labours upon the Holy Scriptures. He is charged with introducing a fourth Person into the Trinity. According to Leontius, Theodore allows to Christ an honourable birth; one might call it the birth of a prophet, only it is a little superior to that. In the course of His early life Christ was gradually purified through progress in virtue, and He became day by day more fitted to receive the good things which were to come to Him, as a man, from God. This progress continued up to the time of His baptism. It was only after baptism that He was perfected in the virtue which is of the Law, and was called perfect. After baptism Christ entered upon and fulfilled a life devoted to the preaching of the Gospel. Leontius pours ridicule upon such a presentation of the life of Christ, in spite of the Scripture which says that He was tempted in all points as we are tempted.

The influence of Theodore persisted into the sixth century. His followers are encountered in the pages of Leontius, who calls them "secret Nestorians". Leontius confesses[18] that he once belonged to their company. He remarks that they only pretend to accept the Council of Chalcedon, while their main reliance is the teaching of Theodore and Diodore of Tarsus. This may mean that they interpreted the Definition of Chalcedon in the light of Theodore. The controversy in Palestine between the Schools of Antioch and Alexandria on the subject of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, is described in the Life of St. Sabas[19], written about the year 557[20]. The School of Alexandria was smitten by an imperial edict against Origen in 543. A counterblast against the School of Antioch followed in the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" in 553. Included in the "Three Chapters" are the writings of Theodore. Harnack[21] remarks that Justinian, in bringing about the condemnation of the "Three Chapters",

> corrected the conciliar-decree in accordance with the spirit of the Eastern Church, which had been repressed at Chalcedon itself. He destroyed the Western influence; he carried the Chalcedonian creed back to Cyril . . . . without meddling with the Creed of Chalcedon.

"Back to Cyril"! It is as if the Council of Chalcedon had never existed, had never formulated a Creed, a Creed that was defended with so much ingenuity by Leontius. The latter, if he had lived to see the year 553, would have rejoiced at the condemnation of Theodore. But there were other defenders of Chalcedon who considered that the anathema against the "Three Chapters" was a piece of imperial policy which could not be justified on any other grounds. Such is the opinion of the author of the *De Sectis* at the end of the sixth century. He refers to Theodore as a great man and regards

[18] 86, 1357 C.
[19] By Cyril of Scythopolis, in Cotelerius, *Eccl. Gr. Monum.*, III. 220-376
[20] So Diekamp, *Die origen. Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrh* (1899), 6, 140.
[21] *Op. cit.*, IV. 247.

the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" as unmerited[22].

Back to Theodore! There are no doubt many to-day who are in sympathy with the method by which Theodore approached the study of the Person of Christ. He began with the record of Scripture and out of that record there emerged, not the shadowy figure of an unlimited Logos, but the human form of Jesus of Nazareth. It has been well said[23] that:

> If Christianity had depended on the Logos, it would have followed the Logos to . . . limbo . . . But that the Logos has not perished is due to the one fact that with the Cross it has been borne through the ages on the shoulders of Jesus.

[22] 86, 1237 C—1239 D.
[23] By T. R. Glover in *The Conflict of Religions*, 303-304.

## NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

The late Archbishop Söderblom's Gifford Lectures are reprinted in the "Oxford Book Shelf" (5s.), in which we have also Constance Holme's *He Who Came* (3s. 6d.). The same publishers continue the good work of issuing Trollope in the "World's Classics", in which *The Small House at Allington* makes 2 vols. at 2s. or one in India paper (5s.). The Rev. L. D. Weatherhead's *Why Men Suffer* is now in its 3rd ed. (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.) and Mr. Joseph McCabe's *The Papacy in Politics* in its 2nd (Watts, 1s.). In the "Aldine Library" (Cape, 4s. 6d.) we have Mrs. Cole's *Marriage* and Ronald Gurner's *I Chose Teaching*. First published in 1927, Dr. Arthur Aspinall's *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* (Manchester Univ. Press) is now 7s. 6d.

## LECTURES, PAMPHLETS, *ETC.*

Dr. D. Elton Trueblood's thoughtful Swarthmore Lecture, *The Trustworthiness of Religious Experience* (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d. & 1s. 6d.), and Mr. St. John Ervine's timely Essex Hall Lecture, *The State and the Soul* (Lindsey Press, 1s.), are both worth reading. *Education Today—and Tomorrow* (Hogarth Press, 1s. 6d.) is by W. H. Auden and T. C. Worsley, and *Peace or War* (Heffer, 1s.), by J. A. Laws and H. L. Peacock. Mr. Hugh Redwood's *Brotherhood* (Hodder, 1s.) contains the substance of addresses delivered as President of the Brotherhood Movement. Two more of Nelson's "Discussion Books" (2s.) are Dr. W. H. D. Rouse's admirable *Homer* and Dr. E. W. Braithwaite's *Parent and Child*, 35 sections divided into short paragraphs.

## ALSO RECEIVED.

Barbara Simpson. *China Post*. L.M.S. 1s. Vivid pictures of China, 1933-8.
A London Journalist. *The God Who Matters*. Pickering. 1s.
*Prayers from the Psalms*. Burns, Oates. 1s.
L. Sale Harrison. *The Remarkable Jew*. Pickering. 1s.
Reginald Wallis. *The New Sovereignty*. Pickering. 1s.
L. E. Cox. *Yarns on the Servants of the Church*. Religious Education Press. 1s.
Rose Fyleman. *A Book of Saints*. Methuen. 3s. 6d. A saint for each month, from St. Joan in January to St. Nicholas in December.
A. M. Pullen. *Stories Jesus Loved*. Indep. Press. 2s. 6d. *O.T.* stories retold for children.
W. J. May. *A Chance for You*. Indep. Press. 2s. 6d. 30 stories for children and young people.
I. M. Buttle. *Musical Moments*. Capsey. 3s. 6d. For Sunday School use.
Grace Livingston Hill. *Brentwood*. Lippincott. 7s. 6d. The recipe as before. Mrs. Hill (1) can tell a story, (2) is a believer of the old school. Those who accept her views will greatly enjoy this book: we scarcely think it will convince any who do not.
D. V. Duff, *The Desert Knight*; M. I. Thomas, *Ken, Candy & Co.*; J. T. Gorman, *The Cinema Mystery*. Burns, Oates. 3s. 6d. each.

# FAITH, FEAR, AND FREEDOM.[1]

By Dr. Albert Peel.

I have to thank you for the invitation to visit your Union and to deliver this Lecture. I have never yet decided whether it is an advantage or a disadvantage to occupy a position like that of an editorial chair, where you sit above the battle, so to speak, and, having to welcome all the combatants, find it in the interests of your work not to be too closely identified with any. That there are advantages in not belonging to Societies for the propagation of this or that is undoubted, but one misses the comradeship of the army and the joy of the struggle. In any case I hate labels, and am inclined to say it is best to accept all or none. Certainly if need be I should call myself both Catholic and Protestant, both Evangelical and Modernist, and that without any feeling of ambiguity or compromise.

I am specially glad to be here because I know it will be good for my education. I trust I am not yet in the state of the anxious patient who said, "Doctor, shall I know anything when I come out of chloroform?" and got the reply, "Well, that's a great deal to ask of an anæsthetic". I shall no doubt learn something, if only to put first things first. You remember the father who rang up to ask the doctor to come at once as his small child had swallowed his fountain pen. The doctor said it would be twenty minutes before he could reach the house and asked, "What are you doing in the meantime?" and got the reply, "Oh, that's all right; I'm using my pencil".

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The modern world seems to love antitheses: we live in an age of Either-Or, where people love to place in opposition things which, it seems to me, need not necessarily be opposed at all. Thus we have

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|---|---|
| God and Man | Reason and Faith |
| Transcendence and Immanence | Authority and Freedom |
| Church and Kingdom | Convention and Experiment |
| Revelation and Discovery | Tradition and Progress |
| | Barth and Bulcock |

Now temperament and training may lead us to one or the other alternative—in the case of most of you, I imagine, to the second, with some doubts about Bulcock! But need there be these antitheses? I believe not, and I think it is incumbent upon thinking Christians to find a way of reconciliation between them, a Hegelian synthesis. I believe that true religion is both quest and goal, revelation and discovery. I find no necessary antagonism between reason and faith,

[1] A Lecture delivered to the Union of Modern Free Churchmen, Memorial Hall, London, on May 12th.

for faith believes that the universe is reasonable, and that the use of God-given reason will inevitably lead to Truth.

Nor do I believe in the Barthian Either-Or in regard to God and man. The Apostolic words, "The Word is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thine heart", "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you", seem to me much truer than the notion of a God afar off. In Prof. S. Angus's words:

> This filial consciousness rests of course upon the essential and indestructible unity of God and man which, in opposition to ancient dualisms and Barthian neo-Calvinism, is strengthening religion and extending its domain. The beautiful Johannine allegory of the Vine and the branches sets forth the organic relationships of the divine alliance of Father, Son and sons. It is sublimely true of Jesus that "I and the Father are one", but we must also go on to believe and to realize "that all may be one as thou Father art in me and I in Thee that they too may be in us" and "I in them and thou in me that they may be perfected into one". The philosophy of the divine immanence does not discard the divine transcendence. It does not make man Christ or make man God, but it does maintain that man, in so far as a moral and spiritual being, is the son of God, made in the image of a God who is the Father of men and of Jesus.

I have just referred to Prof. Angus. And that leads me to say a word about my subject. First, note that I have added the word "Fear" to the advertised title—because it seemed to me as I surveyed the modern scene that in some Free Churchmen to-day Fear was more conspicuous than either Faith or Freedom![2] Second, that I have found myself greatly embarrassed by the appearance of Dr. Angus's *Essential Christianity*. I had planned in this lecture to develop some of the suggestions made in my lectures *Christian Freedom*, especially in regard to Freedom and Belief, Freedom and the Bible; but *Essential Christianity* says what I had planned to say far better than I can ever attempt to do, and if you accept my recommendation to read it, it will be the best thing this lecture will do for you!

Three other recent books of some relevance to the subject I may be allowed to mention, Dr. Rufus Jones's *The Eternal Gospel*, Dr. Shailer Mathews's *The Church and the Christian*, and my own lectures just mentioned[3].

* * *

And now, I think, we can proceed to "Faith, Fear, and Freedom". What is the situation of the Christian faith in the world of to-day?

2 *Cf.* the quotation from Radhakrishnan in Dr. Cave's review below.

3 I would add to these books Mr. Kenneth Ingram's *Towards Christianity* (S.C.M., 5s.) which I have read since the lecture. From the Anglo-Catholic side Mr. Ingram has reached a position similar to that of Dr. Angus, but his development carries with it social and political implications which are not directly touched in *Essential Christianity*. Mr. Ingram's discussion of the question of transcendence and immanence seems to me very suggestive.

Mankind has to a large extent abandoned the belief in and the practice of religion. Even in so-called Christian lands millions never open a Bible, attend worship, or recognize and acknowledge any claim of God upon their lives. Many more people go to the films than to the churches, and nobody dare take a census of attendance at religious worship in London to-day. Recently I heard a Director of Education say that nine out of ten of the children in the Elementary Schools in his area have never been in a church or chapel. A teacher reading the story of the life of Jesus morning by morning during Holy Week was urged by the children one morning to go on, because "We want to know what happened to him", and only yesterday I heard that half the girls in a middle Form in a Midlands High School could not understand a reference to the Prodigal Son.

The resources of the human intellect, 1,900 years after the angels' song of peace and goodwill, are mobilized for slaughter, and in many parts of the world not merely mobilized but used. The economic system under which men do business is frankly non-Christian: and here it is worth noting that the theological modernism preached to some of our suburban congregations is so unhappily married to a social conservatism that it would be amusing were it not both pathetic and disquieting.

The leaders of the nations pay lip-service to organized religion—in this country they call on the Archbishop of Canterbury to make a speech when they are in a hole—but they rarely share in its worship: how many members of the Cabinet went to church on Sunday—if you threw in the House of Commons would it reach 20? I doubt it. Cabinet ministers are sometimes declared to belong to this denomination or that, but it is often because their fathers were Congregational ministers or their ancestors ejected in 1662 rather than for any active association with the life of any church. The days when M.P.s used to travel home at week-ends during the session in order to superintend a Sunday School or teach a Young Men's Class have disappeared. And like statesmen, like people. No longer are provincial towns and cities governed by religious men who have accepted public life as a responsibility from God. No longer are the back pews filled with manufacturers in the morning and the galleries with workmen in the evening.

Equally, if not more, significant is the fact that the world of culture has ceased to pay even lip-service to religion. How many Fellows of Colleges, professors and lecturers in our Universities and Training Colleges, are hard at work in the churches of any denomination? Is there in Oxford—outside the Professors in our own College, whom we will take as read—more than one "practising Congregationalist"? If so, the fingers of one hand would certainly suffice for the number. In the University of London one of the constituent Colleges has the reputation for anti-religious Marxianism,

but generally religion is treated with quiet contempt as obsolete and irrelevant. And where religion *is* acknowledged the recognition takes strange forms. When some years ago University College, London, celebrated its Centenary—and it was founded for the education of those who, not belonging to the Church of England, were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge—the appropriate commemoration was held to be a service in Westminster Abbey conducted by an Anglican Archbishop.

And if we look at the rising generation, we find little to hearten us, for the young are outside the churches. The comparative figures of Sunday School enrolment in this country in pre-war days and to-day are so appalling that we keep as quiet as we can about them. In public schools where there is some effort at religious instruction we are told that the problem of the School Chapel is immensely complicated by the fact that in vacations the boys, like their parents, never go to church. While it can no longer be said, as George A. Gordon said of his youth in Scotland, that he never saw or heard anything in a church calculated to appeal to anyone under 40, it remains true that modern youth gives the Church a wide berth. His intellectual life, his politics, his social enthusiasms (if any), his sexual morals (again if any) are all determined without any reference to the Christian religion.

Such in rapid outline is the situation as I see it. Surely we must be constrained to ask how and why we have reached this state of things, and how we should respond to it. I cannot attempt to give a complete answer, but I am inclined to think that a good deal of the answer is to be found in two sentences of Benjamin Franklin's:

> *If creeds are too weak to face inquiry and discussion, are they strong enough to control conduct?*
>
> *I think vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy has been more regarded than virtue.*

Have our creeds been "too weak to face inquiry and discussion, and strong enough to control conduct"? Are they to-day? Has orthodoxy "been more regarded than virtue"? Is it to-day?

Is it not true that there has been a flight from reason, a fear of reason, in the Church? You remember the old story of Prof. Shearer of Airedale College. After lecturing for a hour he said,

> I think I ought to tell you, gentlemen, that Prof. Ramsay of Aberdeen has just written a book in which he takes the opposite view to that which I have just put before you. And I'm afraid he's right, I'm afraid he's right.

And Shearer was braver than some teachers, who would have gone on delivering the old lectures without reference to Ramsay at all!

But the Church has been very fearful of new truth. You remember Freud's statement that humanity has received three great blows—

when Copernicus discovered that the earth was not the centre of the universe, when Darwin declared that man was not a special creation, and when Freud himself announced that man was but a creature of instincts. To the first two the reaction of the Church was deplorable indeed; but perhaps we can see promise—more than promise—of improvement, for the persecution and denunciation seen in the first, and the alternate quaking and blustering in the second, were absent in the case of Freud, to whose theories indeed altogether too much deference has been paid.

But think of the fear of Biblical scholarship! Has it disappeared even now? Has it been joyfully accepted and entirely assimilated even where there are Modern Free Churchmen? Shortly after coming to London I heard a minister of my own denomination say that while, of course, he accepted two Isaiahs—and he seemed to think that very daring—he would never mention them in the hearing of his people for fear of causing trouble! In how many of our churches has the existence of Form Criticism so much as been mentioned?

One of the primary needs of Christendom to-day—and it is one your Union should be able to render—is to accommodate the thought of the churches to the modern view of the Bible—*New Testament* as well as *Old*. If you are aware of the reaction of the average deacons' vestry—and I believe that we have our best people in the deacons' vestries—to a book like Dr. Cadoux's *The Case for Evangelical Modernism* you know what a lot remains to be done. Christians are so fearful. If they are told that it is careless to call the Bible the Word of God, and that there is a Living Word, if they hear that we cannot be sure that we have any of the actual words of Jesus, but that everything has been coloured by the medium through which it has come, how they tremble for the faith!

They learn from an Anglican Dean:

> The words "This do in remembrance of Me" may certainly be regarded as a later addition . . . If we set these words aside, there is nothing to suggest that our Lord had the intention of founding an institution or permanent rite of any kind . . .

They hear the Bishop of Birmingham saying:

> It is, I suppose, beyond dispute that practically all independent scholars are agreed that Jesus neither instituted sacraments nor founded a Church. I still remember the bewilderment and almost terror which I experienced when first, some quarter of a century ago, I came across this statement. So slow has been the advance within our own communion of knowledge of critico-historical enquiries into Christian origins that probably a majority, even of the clergy, are to-day ignorant not only of the arguments by which the conclusion has been reached, but even of the conclusion itself. Yet how its acceptance would simplify the tangled negotiations as to inter-communion which occupy "faith and order" conferences! Our Lord preached the Gospel

> of the Kingdom of God, gave men the Divine message of eternal life. But He left His followers free to organize themselves, to have bishops, superintendents, elders, and so forth, as they thought best. Christ impressed upon His followers the value of prayer and taught them the sacramental principle that God reveals Himself through material things. But He left them free to create forms of worship wherein they should try to draw near to God, to win His grace and to gain spiritual strength to serve Him truly. Words like valid and regular, invalid and irregular, as applied to ministries and sacraments become meaningless in the light of modern conclusions from historico-critical enquiry.

Or, if they feel that in Scotland at any rate they will find firm ground for their feet, they find there a veteran scholar like Dr. Mackinnon declaring that the assumption that

> Jesus foresaw and founded the Church as it ultimately developed . . . is based on dogmatic and ecclesiastical grounds, and does not seem to be in accord with the actual historic situation.

Now, of course, I think that in the main those judgments must be accepted; probably most of you do. But to the vast majority of the people in the churches they would appear terrible heresy, and as dangerous to the foundations of their faith as an earthquake. As Dean Shailer Mathews puts it in regard to Christology:

> The function of religious groups is conditioned by belief. Where a religion centers about a founder, this faith involves loyalty to the interpretation placed upon him by the group. An attempt to account rationally for such a revelatory person serves to deprive the group of its sense of function. Any recasting of the formulas and practices in which this loyalty has been expressed threatens the abandonment of values embodied in previous group action. That is why attempts to modify the Christology of the churches meet with vigorous opposition. If the Nicene formula be abandoned in the interest of some new interpretation of Jesus, the whole structure of orthodoxy built up by continuous Christian groups seems threatened.

This represents the reaction of the man in the pew, with the problem it poses to all preachers and teachers. But there are other special reactions, in some of which we find fear dominant.

There is, *e.g.*, what I would call the *Zeitgeist* reaction, which reflects the authoritarian, totalitarian spirit of our modern life. These are dangerous days for the Church and for Christianity, we are told. It is urgent that we close our ranks, and make the Church into an effective fighting force. There is too much licence of thought, too much freedom of opinion. We must have conscription in the Church, with every man under authority—and not merely those aged 20. We must have Dictators, who shall tell us what we must believe and what we may say and do if we remain within the Church. And our Dictators offer themselves. Obviously it is College Principals in

the ancient Universities who are best fitted to declare what is the faith, and to tell those who do not accept their dogmas that they are guilty not of heresy, but of unbelief. Not yet, I think, are members of your Union threatened with protective custody or concentration camps, but one never knows, one never knows: when you get back to Calvin and Geneva strange things may happen—there was, you remember, a man called Servetus, and when you sup with Thomas Aquinas, you do well to remind yourself that the Inquisition is not far away.

So dangerous are the days in which Christians live, we are told, that we must beat a hasty retreat to the trenches of the Creeds and the tin shelters of the Confessions, or take protection behind ancient walls erected by the Fathers. It is indeed strange teaching, and one cannot help but wonder how long the walls would stand against bombardment from earth, sea, and sky, and whether the armour once so adequate would long resist the acids of modernity. Surely the best way, the right way, for the Church—the way of safety—is Forward; in religious as in other warfare attack is the best form of defence.

"Truth *defensive* hath lost hold on God", says Lowell; we too often forget the promise that the gates of Hell shall not be able to repel the attack of Christ's army, or assume that that army is not on the attack but beleaguered.

Some people to-day are so concerned for the Faith that they have forgotten faith itself, and need to hear the cry, "O ye of little faith, wherefore do ye doubt?" I suggest that these fears for the faith are unworthy, and that those who think that *they* are called upon to steady the Ark would do well to remember Uzzah's fate. If they cry in this day of storm, "Save, Lord, we perish", that cry is understandable and laudable; but to cry "Save, Nicea; Save, John Calvin; or we perish" is suspiciously akin to putting trust in princes. In one breath we are told with emphasis that the Church is God's Church, and in the next that God is incapable of looking after it, that the Spirit apparently ceased to guide His Church—it is not quite clear when, perhaps in the 4th century, perhaps in the 16th. In one breath we are told of God's transcendence, and all the old *omni's* are used about Him, but in the next it is made clear to us that His might, power, and wisdom found full and final expression in Creeds made by man long ago, and that He has nothing more to say.

What is our reply to these timorous souls? This: that for the sake of the faith we must move out from the shelter of these credal walls which have in times past rendered Christendom so much service, that we must go out, not knowing whither we go, but confident that the Living God leads. Of course, it is an enterprise fraught with danger, but

> 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the truth he ought to die.

Then there is the *reaction of Liberalism*. That is well represented from the American side in the book by Dr. Shailer Mathews which I have recommended to you, a book which should be compulsory reading for all delegates to ecumenical conferences:

> To insist upon formulas which do not represent the religious situation and experience of groups in touch with modern conditions of social process violates the general law of group relationships. Imperialism and democracy are still struggling for the direction of Christianity. In more specific terms, European and American conceptions of the Christian religion and its relationship to social process must come to terms. In speaking of "the Church", American Christians have not sufficiently championed the contribution which America has made to the development of the Christian religion. Continental European churches have had little or no experience in democracy, and have too little respect for religious minorities within a state. Co-operation with such churches is highly desirable, but American Christianity with its achievement of co-operation through federation finds itself opposed by the imperialistic conception of a Catholic Church which looks at denominations and sects as divisive and heretical. The basic difference between the two movements has been obscured by vocabularies, but it still exists. In co-operation with all types of Christian organizations, American Christians, by reason of their experience of federation in politics and in religion, can forward a Christian morality and religion which is not limited by presuppositions derived from the Roman empire and medieval culture. In so doing, they will guarantee the future of Christianity as a religious movement prolific in groups having the same function, but differing in structure and formula. From the days of Paul there has been such variation. Catholic unity has existed only when variant groups have been crushed.

Some of our reactionaries who look East and never West in their desire for Church Union should be shaken from their complacence by Dr. Mathews's words. Of the formula adopted at Nicea he says:

> Catholicism was orthodoxy enforced by the Empire. It was never coextensive with the beliefs of all Christian groups.

Dr. Mathews shows that the "political scenario can be found in all orthodox theologies. To-day the pattern is obviously anachronistic", and altogether unsuited to a democratic age, for democracy and religious liberty are inseparable in origin and history.

> The effort to find a creedal basis [for unity] is anachronistic . . . So far as democratic society is concerned, the one certain way for Christians to get together is to work together.

And therefore modernism, despite the action of authorities,

> has reappeared in every land where the spirit of democracy guarantees religious freedom.

It is not theology or Christology but the love taught by Jesus which is central to Christianity. This Dr. Mathews believes to be of especial importance to-day, and the point where the World Conference on Faith and Order is going wrong.

> In the ecumenical creeds, there is no trace of interest in morality beyond the belief in the forgiveness of sins. They have never prevented churches and individuals from being controlled by contemporary habits and standards of conduct. This is deplorable, but it is also understandable. The center of a group's interest will become that of its constituent individuals. So long as faith *about* Jesus assured acquittal at the coming Judgment Day, there was little inducement to make his teachings as to love central. Logically, the acceptance of the deity of Christ should have made Christian churches the champions of his teaching and his example the basis of conduct, but from the days of Nicea the presuppositions for Christian morality have been generally derived from a social order rather than the teachings of Jesus; even groups which, like the followers of St. Francis, undertake to reproduce his life, center attention upon his poverty and celibacy. It was not until the historical approach to the Gospels replaced the dogmatic, that the social bearing of his teachings was perceived. Jesus became a more significant element in shaping the function of the church as an amoral christology ceased to be supreme. Even those churches that preserved traditional orthodoxy have perceived that he was interested in love rather than in metaphysics, and that the ethical content of his teaching is not to be measured by the standards of Greco-Roman philosophy and seventeenth century nationalism. That the centering of ecclesiastical interest upon sacrificial morality is as yet only partial, is to be seen in the limitation of the members in the newly established World Council of Churches to those who accept Jesus as "God and Savior". Such reproduction of the ancient Catholicism may be advisable as a way of breaking down the century-long enmities of Christian groups, but it shuts out from co-operation churches that seek to perform their religious function by making the example and teaching of Jesus their final moral idealism. Such loyalty is not confined to churches. Thanks to the influence of individuals and minorities, and those who have come under their influence, it is to be found in groups devoted to social reform but who regard the supernatural metaphysics of historical Christianity as outmoded. Such influence of Jesus is one aspect of interaction of the Christian groups with others within the contemporary social order. In democratic social orders, importance of dogma has decreased as emphasis has been laid upon Jesus as a guide to morality. It is becoming increasingly clear that the significance of churches in our modern life will be determined by the extent to which their faith in Jesus leads them to persuade their members that love is a practicable basis upon which to build individual morality and social orders because God is love. So to give Jesus moral centrality is not

> to deny values expressed in historical orthodoxy. It is rather to interpret the function of Christian groups in patterns derived from intellectual, social, and political trends of our modern life.

This is a long quotation, but it puts a significant point of view, and one which American Christianity is stressing at the present time. The centring of interest upon dogma is mistaken, for

> Formulas which are not basically moral distract attention from social situations, and make church loyalty indifferent to love. Those moments in which the center of interest in church life has been doctrinal have seen the brutal persecution of heretics. Men who have believed in the deity of Jesus have not hesitated to persecute those who did not hold such a belief. One cannot look without anxiety, therefore, upon the new movement in non-Roman Catholic churches to make a belief in Jesus as "God and Savior" a basis of what they profess to be ecumenicity but which is in fact a paradoxically selective Catholicism. What the world requires of the churches is not a revival of fourth-century Christology, but the impregnation of economic and political processes with love. Only then will Jesus have given meaning to their function. If Christians are to be interested in helping make a better world, the churches must make theology secondary to morality embodying the spirit of Jesus.

It is because groups have erected formulas into orthodoxy that the Churches have opposed new learning—from Galileo to Darwin—and the suspicion of any proposal for change to-day is due to the persistence of imperialist and absolutist conceptions.

> As long as its organizing principle is Nicean theology, a church will be committed to the political *status quo*.

On the relation of the Church to political and economic questions, Dr. Mathews has wise counsel to give and the sound warning:

> Before a religious body can safely champion a political or economic program, it must itself illustrate the ideals it preaches.

Some people nowadays go about saying—and apparently thinking that if they say it often enough it will become true—that liberal Christianity in America (and on the Continent) is dead. Dr. Mathews's is but one of many recent books which show that it is very much alive. In America you can find anything you look for—and there are no doubt many who joyfully announce the decease of liberal Christianity. But when one thinks of the imposing list of scholars in many Churches of those who would not be ashamed of the name one cannot but realize that the report is greatly exaggerated[4]. Dr. Kirsopp Lake has reminded the Churches that they are

> not societies for the preservation of ancient opinions, but for the furtherance of living religion,

[4] And would it not be true to say, of New England at any rate, that most of the churches with large congregations have as their ministers "liberal Christians"?

while Dr. E. F. Scott's wise and balanced words deserve careful thought:

> The Church makes for stability. It is the conservative force, maintaining the authentic message which is always in danger of losing itself in the constant flux of the world's life and thought. If the church is condemned for holding fast to a given tradition, we must never forget that this is the very purpose for which it exists. It represents the abiding element in the religion, the beliefs and pieties which must hold their own through all changes. The function of the church is to preserve; but there is always the danger that along with the essential things it should perpetuate everything. Doctrines and forms which have grown up around the revelation and which possibly obscure it are handed down with the revelation itself. All is preserved, and at last the ivy chokes the tree.

Is it not remarkable that while some Free Churchmen are always calling us back to the Creeds, Anglicans are often putting them in correct perspective? Here is the veteran Professor Bethune-Baker:

> I think we should always be ready to salute them with respect; but I should like to have them all hung up on the walls of our churches as we hang the tattered colours of our regiments that have been through many a gallant fight. I do not think we can really march under them as our Christian flag in the world to-day. They are not effective. They do not seem to say about our Christian Faith what we most want to say. Or else they say it about some of the most important things in a way in which we do not want to say it.

And here the Dean Dwelly and Canon Raven of Liverpool some years ago:

> A God whose nature and worship are to be settled for all time by reference to fourth-century creeds or medieval canon-law does not deserve and will not hold the allegiance of the best in the modern world.

About this matter of the Creeds as defenders of the Faith one or two observations should be made, and those of you who have read *Essential Christianity* will know how greatly I am indebted at times to its author.

1. Jesus Himself fixed no standard, and established no inviolable form of religion for all time, and nothing can be essential to Christianity which He did not deem essential. To use Blake's comparison, He was not a cistern which contains, but a fountain which overflows; His religion is a living religion, and those who attempt to canalize it are not doing God service. He is living water, a well springing up eternally. A living faith is like a river, ever changing yet ever the same; it can live only by growth, development. He who makes all things new reveals himself in the truth in the present and

in the future as well as in the past. That is what lies behind A. B. Bruce's dictum "The hope of Christianity is heresy" and Unamuno's "A faith which does not doubt is a dead faith". Here is the way Dr. Angus puts the matter:

> And, if members of the Christian Church are committed to an assent to an authoritarian doctrine, is Christian truth a system of propositions which is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever? Is it something which is immune to criticism, a revelation from without imposed upon man for his good? Or is it something which is ever in becoming, ever in increase? Is Christian truth a "deposit" once and in the past? or is it a continuous and present revelation of God through Jesus? Do we follow One who is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever, because He is the founder of an authoritarian religion, or because his ideals for himself and for the sons of God are so deeply based in the depth of spiritual and autonomous personality as never to be antiquated? Is Christianity a faith which produces certain doctrines, and these, once produced, must be exacted as rigorously of Christians as good works or purity of heart or obedience to conscience? Does obedience to the Will rank only as high as the doctrine learned through obedience . . . . . ?
>
> Christianity is an experience, which has been too often confounded with theories or explanation of that experience. Christianity arose from certain historic facts, chiefly from the stupendous fact of the God-possessed personality of the Galilean, but the essence of Christianity has too often been confounded with, or even based upon, alleged historic facts of debatable historicity (such as the Virgin Birth, the miracles, the physical Resurrection of Jesus, the bodily Ascension to heaven, the official and authoritative establishment of a Church by him), and with certain dogmatic interpretations of historical facts and of alleged historic facts (such as theories of propitiatory Atonement to explain the nature or need of the death of Christ, or dogmas concerning the origin and saving value of sacraments).
>
> We cannot proceed far on any attempt to discover Christianity without being confronted by the question whether Christianity is something static or something dynamic; something in rest or in perpetual motion. Has Christianity been standardised before we appeared upon the scene to put our inquiries and reflect upon our experience? and what is the standard? Church, ecclesiastical tradition or pope? And who standardised Christianity? Jesus? or Peter and Paul? or the fathers of the Tridentine Council? or the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles? or the divines of the Westminster Assembly? At what particular period in history did Christianity attain the normative, from which we may not depart and from which we must not lift our eyes in determining what is Christianity to-day?

2. Again, the Creeds have glaring omissions—the idea of life "in Christ", the necessity of evangelism and missions, the relation

of the individual to Society, to mention but three examples. Is everything Jesus said and did between "born of the Virgin Mary" and "suffered under Pontius Pilate" too unimportant to be mentioned? If you once consider how much of our modern life and thought is not covered by the Creeds you will never again regard them as adequate statements of the Christian faith in the world to-day.

3. Those who press the claims of the Creeds often forget that they themselves read into familiar words meanings entirely different from those the words bore when the Creeds were formulated. The connotation has been entirely changed by centuries of thought and by new knowledge about man and the universe. When we remember all the mental reservations used in reciting creeds and assenting to articles and confessions, we need not look much further for an explanation of the weakness of the Church's witness. If there is a lack of soundness at the heart, how can the body be healthy? As we have recently been warned:

> to accept, in its verbal sense, a doctrine which belongs to another context and another age, is not to accept the old doctrine, but a different and almost invariably a worse one.

How alien to modern conceptions, for instance, are old discussions about the Trinity. Cromwell once said that it must have been much simpler to understand the Trinity in the Apostolic days than in his time, for he found it nothing but a mystery.

I do not think in all this there is any conflict with what Dr. J. D. Jones said on Tuesday morning, or in what Dr. Martin Lloyd Jones said so effectively in that powerful sermon to which we listened on Tuesday afternoon, in which he claimed there must be no compromise about the truth but any amount of flexibility and adaptation in presenting the truth. I agree with that, but I should like to add, *pace* some of your critics, that allowance must be made for development; indeed, one of the urgent needs of theological scholarship to-day is a presentation of the doctrine of development from a Free Church scholar. It never seems to me satisfying to speak of the Gospel as a deposit; if we use the expression we must remark that the deposit has been bearing compound interest all through the years. The Gospel is good news, and we believe in it with heart and soul, but each generation brings its own questions about the good news; and it seems to me a movement like your own has in this day and generation certain duties laid upon it. You have, for example, to make clear in what sense you regard the Scriptures to-day as an authority in matters of faith, and in what sense you consider the Church and the Sacraments divine institutions. You have to show that freedom from the Creeds does not mean licence, that while you soar you never roam, but are true to the kindred points of heaven and home.

And the most important challenge to your movement is the query whether modernism can inspire men with the same zeal, the same passion and earnestness, the same readiness to sacrifice, as traditional religion. That is the ultimate test. It is not difficult to point out that insistence on the Creeds has not made Christianity a power in the world. It can, I think, be argued that if the Church had emphasized faith and freedom as Jesus did, and not turned aside to dogma, we should have been saved many fears and we should not have needed to be so ashamed of the Church's record. You remember what Canon Barry wrote:

> The one really formidable argument against the truth of the Christian religion is the record of the Christian Church;

and also Canon Streeter's humiliating confession:

> The greatest blot on the history of the Church in modern times is the fact that, with the glorious exception of the campaign to abolish slavery, the leaders in the social, political, and humanitarian reforms of the last century and a half in Europe have rarely been professing Christians; while the authorised representatives of organised Christianity have, as often as not, been on the wrong side.

And just here is the main burden of Prof. Angus's book, as it is the main challenge to you—that the chief authentication of Christianity before the world is a Christlike character, that essential Christianity will not make a Christian over-anxious about conformity to some venerable standard, but about the apprehension of reality and obedience to his heavenly vision. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is the test of every form of religion.

And it is the test of this Union of yours. You believe in freedom, in the use of reason to discover, expound, elucidate, interpret the faith. You do not fear for the faith but you seek fully to understand it. If you are right, and more right than traditional Christianity, you should be growing better men and women than traditional Christianity has grown, men and women more devoted to the truth, more earnest in its proclamation, more self-sacrificing in its service. You would say "Amen" to Dr. Angus's words

> the Church, in any branch of it, exerts for three ends . . . In relation to God, the chief end of the Church is worship; in relation to its members, its end is to nurture Christian character alike in personal goodness and in brotherhood; as regards the world, its end is to witness for the truth which is in Christ and to work for the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. These ends are the monopoly of no branch of the Church; indeed, there is no branch of the Church universal which does not need to learn from some other regarding them.

And so do I. I ask for freedom to follow the light of reason wherever it leads, for I believe that reason cannot lead away from God. I am

eager to grasp whatever truth God will still reveal. To me that is faith, an absolute trust in a God who is working His purpose out, leading men to discover that purpose, and giving them strength and wisdom to co-operate with Him in it. And if I want a confession of faith I think I, too, should adopt, rather than one of the Creeds, the prayer of the 14th century Richard of Cirencester :

Thanks be to Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ,
For all the blessings which Thou has gained for me,
For all the pains and insults which Thou has borne for me.
O most merciful Redeemer, Friend and brother,
May I know Thee more clearly,
Love Thee more dearly,
And follow Thee more nearly.

A volume of new poems from Lord Gorell is very welcome in these days of tortured verse about machines and Marxism. *Last of the English* (Murray, 6s.) consists of two parts : Part II, which bears the book's title, contains three scenes—Harold before Hastings, More in 1530, and Mrs. Brown of Bermondsey in 1937 : this trilogy forms an excellent foil to the poems in Part I, and is equally appealing. The poems have the sincerity which is the mark of true poetry, as of all beauty. The simpler Lord Gorell is, the better we like him. We choose "A Prayer for Middle Age" as a specimen for our readers :

Lord God, I do not ask for ease,
A playground life and luxuries,
For more of health than sets me free
From warfare with infirmity,
Or even for fame, to hold a pen
That lays a spell on hearts of men.
I ask for something simpler far,
Yet hard, as all things simple are :
I ask for undiminished zest
And lasting passion in Life's quest ;
The power to feel the thrill of things,
To mount upon imaginings
And keep Love's hourly novelties
A realm above eroding seas ;
A mind that boredom never knows,
But, marching onward, gaily goes
Discovering interest in all
That moves on Earth, both great and small—
Richly with solitude content
Yet welcoming hours with comrades spent,
I would be as a sounding board
Reverberant with the human chord,
Harmonic to the lute of joy,
Until Life's end at heart a boy!

# THE NEW EDUCATION.

By Joseph King, M.A.

Though most intelligent persons are aware that the school-leaving age for scholars in English elementary schools has been raised by Parliament, it is only teachers and those concerned as parents or otherwise who know that the Education Act, 1936, is to have its appointed day on 1st September, 1939. On that day a new type of "practical or advanced instruction" is to be given in Senior Schools to the senior children, the boys and girls from 11 to 15 years of age. This brings into effect the Hadow Report, so often cited and discussed since it appeared in 1926. The question how the education of elementary scholars should be better adjusted to present conditions and especially how the adolescents should be taught so as to fit them to leave school for work or further training has now been solved. The elementary schools are to receive Infants (5 to 7 years), Juniors (7 to 11), and Seniors (11 to 15). These senior scholars are to have a new type of School, and to remain there till they complete the 15th year. Practical or advanced instruction is the distinctive feature of these new Senior Schools. Varieties of curriculum may be expected, and local conditions and wants will be kept in view: for the handicrafts, wood and metal work; for science scholars, workshops and laboratories; for domestic economy, household and cookery teaching girls must have kitchen, laundry, and other rooms. For open-air gardening, physical exercises, drill, *etc.*, there is need for more ample space and certain appliances. To these large schools many scholars will go long distances, either by bicycle or the motor transport to be organized for those whose homes are two or more miles from the Central Senior School; this means cycle-sheds, canteens, *etc.* Such an inventory of requisites shows at once both the lines of the new education and how costly and extensive buildings and equipment are sure to prove.

To obtain the required Senior Schools it will not be necessary to build new buildings in every case; existing schools may be enlarged, "re-organized", and made adequate. Elsewhere Senior Schools are already in existence. Obviously, in agricultural areas, where small village schools largely predominate, these schools will lose their scholars when they pass from Junior to Senior age; Central Senior Schools must be built, and the majority of scholars will be brought from distant homes. The reduced number of Infants and Juniors left in many village schools will need attention; in many directions they will become a new order of schools. The new Senior Schools, with the extensive acres which will be required in most cases,

unless urban sites and facilities for games, drill, and other open-air requirements can be otherwise obtained, will in most cases be Provided Schools, controlled by the L.E.A. and at the charge of the rates. The cost will vary, but taking £50 for each school place and places provided for 400—a not unusual amount in a growing district, when site, services, legal costs, *etc.*, are added—£20,000 will be inadequate. Loans may spread the cost over 60 years, and the Government grant, subject to conditions, may amount to 50 per cent. The total cost to the country in both rates and taxes will be many millions.

The Bill to complete elementary education on such thoroughgoing and costly lines was patiently prepared; local authorities had been informed and consulted, and were ready to welcome what would give them increased duties and great expenditure. Capital and Labour, parents and teachers through their representative organizations, were not left out of preliminary consultation; though employers of child-labour feared disturbance and difficulties in certain manufacturing and agricultural districts, they have been left to make agreements with local authorities, which can release scholars on such conditions as may secure the health and instruction and general well-being of the young workers.

The most difficult and obvious danger to the general acceptance of this advance in teaching the nation's children was a renewal of "the denominational difficulty". In the early period following the Great War, the Board of Education, under the Presidency of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, whom Mr. Lloyd George had brought into his Cabinet, was fortunately able to leave religious questions quiescent for the time. Mr. Fisher proved himself a great administrator, and left the Board of Education an enlightened and generous bureaucracy; he raised the status and pay of the teaching profession, and left it a profession with dignity and a future, adding 70,000 teachers at once to the pensionable list, and in the sufferings of thousands of families in the Coal Strike administered relief costing millions of pounds. If Mr. Fisher added to the bureaucratic powers and initiative of the Board in a way which has threatened local control, he may be forgiven because of his "establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons" (Clause 11 of his Education Act, 1921). This new education is not only for the young but for all ages—by Universities; by Libraries, Museums, Art Galleries, and Schools; by inculcating the value of nutrition, physical culture, and training, *etc.*: education is potentially and practically for "all persons capable of profiting hereby". Bearing this in mind, it may be understood that it may lead, especially in questions of religious teaching, to encouraging or at least allowing great varieties of aim and method. The point is that our national education to-day benefits a greatly varied population.

Though the Education Bill of 1936 had been well prepared, it was

not in the usual way an agreed Bill; but it was introduced into Parliament with the prospect that it must pass as introduced without long debates or vital changes. Two circumstances favoured this: first, that it was brought in with a pledge by Mr. Baldwin's Government, fresh from a General Election, to raise the school-leaving age by early legislation; the other was that foreign affairs had obliterated home issues, however important. The Bill, generally accepted in its chief aim, was keenly criticized in Grand Committee as offering excessive privileges to the Church of England and raising religious difficulties afresh. The party Whips prevailed, and the Bill passed into law as the Education Act of 1936; it was not to come into operation for three years, on 1st September, 1939, when the school-leaving age would be raised. The New Central Schools were to be finished a year later, on 1st September, 1940. Would the ample time of four years permit religious differences to subside?

There is evidence of a previous understanding between the Central authority, some local authorities, and the higher ecclesiastics that within certain limits the claims of denominationalists to favour should be assisted by the bureaucratic influence of the Board. Many instances of this might be cited; enough here to refer to the Liverpool Roman Catholic School case, where the Board fined the Liverpool L.E.A. for exercising the right to refuse rate aid to any Voluntary School subvention. Here, however, it must be recalled to its credit that the Board of Education would not allow the delaying and obstructive policy widely adopted by the proposers of Church Senior School schemes to share the benefit of an extension beyond September, 1940, though granted under proper grounds to Provided School proposals. It is baffling to be asked to-day what is the state of the preparations for the 1st September next. The new schools need not be ready till a year later. Some are already opened and at work; some will be built and equipped after the holidays in August; a great number will require further time. At the Church Assembly on 22nd June, 1938, the Central Board of Finance reported that over 200 schemes for Church Senior Schools would require a Church contribution of £750,000. Very little towards this amount was expected either from the National Society or the Church Assembly, but evidently a large sum from the various Diocesan Funds, and of course from parishes and individuals contributing to local funds. Inquiries for exact figures have met with no success; admissions and a lack of information make it clear that doubt exists whether schemes made for Church Schools two years ago can be realized by 1940. This is not surprising, and accords with the opinion of the head official of the Board of Education in 1926 that

> The proportion of Voluntary Schools was becoming smaller, the burden of maintaining and improving their buildings greater, and in the Anglican if not the Roman Catholic com-

munity, the collection of money for their maintenance more difficult.

Admirable as are the educational reforms which all Senior Schools are promised, it is evident on study of the Act that it had been drafted to secure Anglican support; its provisions secure in a privileged position the Dual System, which will now have a hope of actually receiving building grants, abolished in 1870 and renewed now to obtain Church support for the national demand of advanced teaching. This advance the Church would have prevented if it had not been accompanied by increased opportunities for inculcating Church doctrine in the schools of the nation. The new Senior Schools will mostly be built by the L.E.A. in each county. But schemes may also be put forward by those who want Voluntary Schools, and, with the consent of the L.E.A., 50 to 75 per cent of the total cost of land and buildings will be contributed from the rates.

The details and legal points of this effort to prop up Voluntary Schools need not be examined. There is a liberal and enlightened attitude in certain counties, where the Bishop is tolerant and not aggressive, and where prevailing great landowners and the County Council are not anxious to favour ecclesiastical aggression; here is found steady progress in education, and the Anglo-Catholic lesser clergy fail to make much of a show. Again, there are cases where the Bishop has sketched out a number of schemes which he has assumed will be accepted, but now finds the Chairman of the County Council, a leading Churchman politician, and a great landlord all unwilling to subscribe to the Church Senior Schemes, and has come to realize—what Lord Sankey, a great Church leader, has insisted on—that unless the parochial village schools are no longer neglected in buildings, amenities, and efficiency, to press for Senior Church Schools is insincerity. Or again, there are dioceses and areas where the policy of the Archbishop of York's Committee and the Loughborough Conference of Modern Churchmen has found practical response[1]; here Senior Schools are left to be provided by the L.E.A. while use of the Anson By-law, Sunday School instruction, *etc.*, and a sincere intelligent use of trained teachers giving religious instruction are quite compatible with a national system of undenominational teaching. Lastly, there are the County districts where efforts are made to obtain for the Church a fifth or sixth part of the total number of the new schools to be provided. Such a case is provided by Surrey.

The relations between central and local authorities are close but not always quite clear. Between the central bureaucracy of the Board of Education and the local bureaucracies, since each L.E.A. is a bureaucratic department of the county, an easy and usually effective accord is usually maintained—and greatly for the public benefit.

[1] (See *Modern Christian Education*, Blackwell, 3s. 6d.).

But in matters arising out of the present changes in schools it is evident that this accord has been strained by the Government's assurances to ecclesiastical powers which neither the localities, the public generally, nor the Free Churches especially, condone. The evidence of this weak subservience to influential sectarianism is so ample that it must suffice to quote the case of the Liverpool controversy over the Roman Catholic Schools. Liverpool City Council decided from the first, by a great majority, returned at two successive municipal elections, to grant no support from the rates to any Voluntary Senior Schools, which the wording of the Act justified as entirely correct. This applied not only to the twenty or more Roman Catholic Schools required but to ten or twelve Anglican Schools desired. The English Church observed dignity and restraint; by well-managed propaganda the Roman Catholics started a popular revolt that was deplorable in every way. It was so far successful that the Board of Education imposed deductions from grants payable to the Liverpool L.E.A. amounting to £15,000 every quarter for not providing suitable schooling for the Roman Catholic scholars. The controversy is far from being the simple one which many Liberals and Free Churchmen imagine—whether the Government can force a L.E.A. to endow the religion of a great minority with hundreds of thousands for sectarian schools. One fact ignored is that the case of the Roman Catholic Schools is on a different footing from the case of the Anglican Schools. The latter are steadily decreasing in numbers and attendance; since 1920 the Roman Catholic Schools have been increasing. Several reasons account for this. Both Anglican and Catholic Churches are enormously wealthy, with societies, trusts, and devotees who are millionaires, but the Anglicans are decreasingly ready to erect or repair Church Schools; the Roman Catholics are generous in Church buildings, in erecting and buying monasteries and convents, and also in providing new schools. This arises from the very large increase in the Roman Catholic population, due partly to abstinence from birth control practice among working-class Catholics, and especially to the great increase of Irish Roman Catholic immigration into this country. Some years ago 30,000 Irish, with intense nationalist and Catholic traditions, came annually to settle in Lancashire, the Glasgow area, and other growing industrial districts. The cruel treatment of Ireland for centuries is throwing up dragons' teeth—such troubles as the Roman Catholic School question in Liverpool, the I.R.A. bomb outrages, and even the threat of Eire to "cut the painter" if Irishmen are to be conscripted. At the moment a solution of the Liverpool School crisis seems to be in sight, but only at the cost of a huge rate expenditure and the passing of legislation which would allow a L.E.A. to build schools and let them on lease to the ecclesiastical bodies.

The preparations made for the education advance to be taken in

September, 1939, may be studied by taking the County of Surrey. Surrey is wealthy, with rapidly increasing population and rateable value, with enterprising efficient local government, alive in its County Council, whose Education Department enjoys a leading place as a model organization. In its elementary schools generous treatment by the L.E.A. does not compensate for the preponderance of single-school areas with poor buildings, bad playgrounds, and other disadvantages common to small schools and lax managers. Late in 1937, after the L.E.A. and the Anglicans had conferred over their plans, the L.E.A. issued instructions to those concerned about the grants which might be made to Voluntary Central Schools, about procedure to be taken, *etc.* Much space was taken up by questions of appointing Reserved and other Teachers, none about appointing Managers; mention was made of a Ballot of Parents, a proposal quietly dropped as unnecessary, and finally emphasis was made against delay. This last warning has been disregarded by both the L.E.A. itself and the Church authorities, as indeed other good intentions of the L.E.A. about finance, approval of plans, guarantees, tenders, *etc.*, have been disregarded. Of some dozen schools to be helped from the rates with 75 per cent of the total cost, after 18 months' delay and with only 15 months before they must be built, equipped, and opened ready for scholars, only three buildings appear to have been begun.

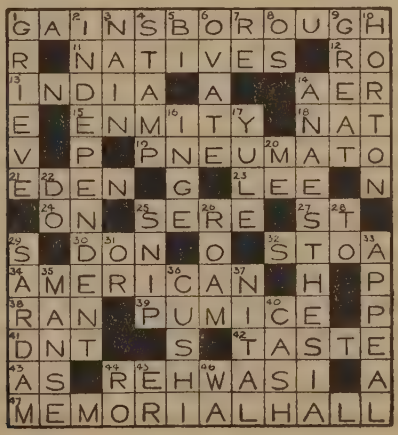
At the same time as the instructions for the Voluntary Schools were being issued by the L.E.A. an appeal to Churchmen and to all interested in assuring the continuance of Religious Instruction in the new Senior Schools was issued by one of the Bishops. It mentioned twelve areas in which Church of England Senior Schools were possible and desirable. It appealed not only to the Church people in these areas, but to the county and public generally to provide the funds required, estimated at under £50,000. Subsequent appeals spoke of the necessity to obtain this in promises or payment by March, 1938. By that date not £25,000 was forthcoming. In spite of public meetings, garden fêtes with distinguished personages making strong appeals, efforts to collect definite large sums by the end of the month, in spite of the National Society being reported to contribute £12,000 and the Diocesan Board of Finance arranging to have a loan of £6,000 towards Church Voluntary Schools to be repaid in 20 years, it is impossible at the moment to speak with certainty about the position of new Schools for Seniors in Surrey in 1940 or 1941. Chaos and confusion have been spread by the power in the recent Act to decline to agree to the provisions made by the L.E.A. for Senior teaching for the scholars leaving as juniors. This is in effect an opportunity given to the Managers of Voluntary Schools to blackmail any L.E.A. teaching; it has caused great delay elsewhere, and when pressed to extremes it is at the root of the

Liverpool scandal. Looking then at the outlook in Surrey—in most ways a favourable field for the Anglican prospects—it seems likely that the Church of England effort to get one-fifth of the Senior Elementary Teaching in Voluntary Schools will fail; even if all its 12 schools are built, it seems certain that the L.E.A. will have over 60 schools where only undenominational religious instruction is given. If this is the general average over England and Wales it marks another great gain of undenominational education over the sectarianism of the Dual System.

The foregoing account of the changes and completion of the English elementary school system has endeavoured to show the preparation of the new education which our senior scholars will enjoy. This has necessitated an account of the attempt of the ecclesiastics to grab a share of the new buildings without paying for them and to use the schools (perhaps 20 per cent of them) to inculcate their creeds, make young proselytes, and get the work of their Confirmation Classes done for them by Reserved teachers in these Voluntary Senior Schools. That this attempt is made with strong sincere religious impulses and in certain cases by real sacrifices—in spite of the appeal of one bishop that this was a chance to get fine school buildings for only 25 per cent of the cost and that this opportunity will not occur again—is gladly admitted.

Another question which is of importance and which possibly may become controversial is that Clause 13 alters the rigid limits of the Cowper-Temple rule for Religious Instruction so as to allow, with the permission of the L.E.A., withdrawal from schools to "attend religious observance or instruction elsewhere". It has been thought well to leave this for a further and more matured consideration.

CROSSWORD SOLUTION



# THE LAST OF THE ROMANTICS:

## AN APPRECIATION OF W. B. YEATS.

By P. A. Spalding, M.A.

Poetry in England has generally been written by amateurs and for amateurs. Few of our poets have been "whole-time" or professional poets; they have been besides, adventurers, like Byron, social theorists, like Shelley, or philosophers, like Coleridge. The poet pure and simple is looked upon with suspicion, if not hostility, and in the ordinary way the lapse of a generation at least is necessary before he is permitted to become respectable or even famous. It is quite otherwise in France for instance. There the artist has always held a definite position in the public estimation. He is looked up to in much the same way and to the same extent as is the scholar in China or the successful business man in England, with the result that poetry is taken seriously and considered a reasonable occupation for reasonable men. Superficially perhaps the most striking thing about W. B. Yeats is that he was an example of that rare thing in English literature—the professional poet, who succeeded in making a name for himself not only among his fellow artists, but with the general public also, solely in virtue of his being a poet, to whom the writing of verse is a full-time occupation, not a hobby: a study to be consciously and conscientiously *worked* at, involving knowledge, research, and application as patient and intense as a scientist's, and not an "extra" to be taken in one's stride.

His death last January has taken from contemporary English literature its most outstanding figure: the only poet, I think we may say, in the great tradition of English poetry, who has so far appeared in the twentieth century, worthy to take a place in the long line of famous names from Chaucer to Keats and Shelley, Browning and Tennyson. For at the outset it is important to lay stress on this fact of continuity, that Yeats took on the torch from his predecessors, and that though he was an innovator and a creative artist, unique and original, he was not, in the modern sense, a revolutionary. He did not break violently with the past, or found a distinct school, or issue manifestos, in the manner of so many twentieth century and especially post-war poets, and his theory of poetry was, as we shall see, orthodox, and in some respects even reactionary.

It is fashionable for poetry now to be either unashamedly rhetorical, or, quite simply, incomprehensible. The latter represents the decadence of the French symbolist movement started by Baudelaire and Rimbaud in the 1860's to '80's, given a metaphysical background by the intuitional philosophy of Bergson, and introduced

into England mainly by T. S. Eliot. It deals in a private symbolism and often a private language, appreciated only by the poet and his own circle, and, *ex hypothesi,* it can have no general appeal. With this unintelligibility of content goes a formlessness of style, seen best perhaps in the "Cantos" of Ezra Pound, which arises from the very nature of the poets' preoccupation—the restless flux of the uncensored subconscious, its plethora of unrelated and, more often than not, sordid images. In their violent reaction from the romanticism of the 'nineties these poets turn for their symbolism to the starkness of winter trees, to bones and the charnel house, to a vision conditioned by the X-ray of cynicism or morbidity, forgetting that exclusive insistence on its less savoury aspects is as unrepresentative of life as a whole as are the flowers and stars, the preciosity and cloying sweetness of the romantic decadents. At its best, where it employs the emotional (as opposed to the logical) sequence of dream, this school attains, as in the shorter lyrics of Pound, an authentic beauty; at its worst, when *all* sequence is abandoned, it degenerates into the horrors of surrealism, which is rather a literal transcript of the hashish-eater's dream than a picture of recognizable life. It is a convention nowadays to regard the 'nineties as a period of literary decadence, and this is true up to a point. It was a time of art for art's sake, of a good deal of weakness in life and letters, and much work that was merely decorative or sentimental; but it was not a *spiritual* decadence. Artists still had faith, if only in their art, and a positive attitude to life, if that meant only the courageous facing of despair. The value of the individual was still maintained, if only with the passionate arrogance of a Henley. The real decadence began later, during and after the war, when in men like Eliot in his early period we are confronted with a genuine spiritual despair, a negation of faith, a hopeless cynicism. The 'nineties asserted something, however little we may agree with it; Eliot asserts nothing —worse, he denies the validity of the spiritual basis on which alone assertion can be founded. The 'nineties praised their famous men excessively, sometimes absurdly, but the post-war years can find nothing to praise, and all to blame.

> This is the way the world ends,
> This is the way the world ends,
> This is the way the world ends,
> Not with a bang but a whimper.

The rhetorical school of poets, on the other hand, is due to the present predominant interest in politics, economics, and "ideologies" symbolized by shirts as multi-coloured as Joseph's, and fails because a passionate partisanship destroys the possibility of that impersonal, imaginative synthesis from which alone poetry as opposed to propaganda can emerge. This school looks back to Pope, and has a more modern analogy in Whitman. Occasionally, when it forgets

politics, it rises to poetry as in Spender's "The Express", but as a whole it can have no permanent significance for unrepentant anti-Augustans, who put Pope among the great satirists rather than the great poets.

Yeats, however, alone of the poets of primary importance in our period, has fallen into neither of these extremes. His later poems are often "difficult" and sometimes obscure, but they are never ultimately unintelligible: he never deliberately mystifies or misleads us, while his political poems, though intensely felt, never degenerate into prejudice or special pleading. His irony is free from exaggeration, and his satire from ranting. He is in fact, first, last and all the time a poet, and not a propagandist, a professional cynic, or a disciple of Marx or Freud.

Dr. St. John Gogarty has said that only two men in all his wide acquaintance have impressed him with that indefinable sense of power and mystery which, for want of a better word, we call genius. These two men were Yeats, the poet, and Augustus John, the painter, and it is not without significance that the finest portrait of Yeats is that painted by his fellow Celt. Here we see him with a mountain landscape for background, with his tall spare figure and abstracted gaze, looking like some magician whose word can "call spirits from the vasty deep". And indeed Yeats did possess in no ordinary degree those psychic powers which have been given so lavishly to the Celtic peoples. Like so many Irish and Scottish peasants, he had the "second-sight" and believed in the "fairies", the spirits of mountain, wood, and wave, who play so large a part even to-day in the lives and imaginations of the country people in Ireland, and traditions of whom inspired so much of the magic of his early verse. Yeats the senator, Yeats the critic, Yeats the public representative of letters, are all in the end subordinate to Yeats the mystic, one might almost say, the child. For poetry, lyric poetry at least, goes back for its ultimate triumphs to the piercing vision, the insight unadulterated by intellectual misgiving or the accretions of worldly experience, the intuitive and uncritical sense of beauty of a child. Every mystic is at heart a child, and so, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, it was with Yeats. His early interest in folklore and folk tradition, his subsequent interest in and rejection of theosophy, his later absorption in Oriental metaphysics, and his perennial dabblings in astrology, were but efforts to discover the apt and adequate symbolism for the impulses of his poet's nature—efforts which acted as a kind of hypnosis, keeping the surface mind occupied, and so disengaging and allowing liberty of expression to the subconscious, the "daimon" within. As he himself has said:

> The subconscious is always there lying behind the mind, ready to leap out. The whole aim of consciousness is to make the subconscious its obedient servant.

In this essay I propose to confine myself to Yeats as a lyricist, and shall not deal with his narrative poems, his plays or his prose works, creative or critical, except to remark that if he had not written a line of verse, and were to be judged solely by his prose writings, he would still be assured of a permanent place in English literature. The "Autobiographies" in particular, written in a prose at once statuesque and musical, is as important relatively for our appreciation of him, and absolutely as a work of criticism, as are the Letters of Keats or the Notebooks of Coleridge. I propose then firstly to consider briefly his theory of poetry and his method of composition: then to look at the poems themselves and illustrate the development of his technique: thirdly to attempt to isolate some of the characteristic excellences of his poetry, and finally, to give an estimate of his general position, taking into consideration certain of the influences and analogies which are traceable in his work.

How does a poet work at the composition of his verses? It is always of interest to know something of his methods, however little such knowledge can help us to penetrate the secrets of his inspiration. The economy of Yeats's verses, their clear-cut, polished, gem-like outlines are obviously the result of hard work, the constant application of the sculptor's mallet and chisel, giving shape and form to the raw material of inspiration. He is essentially not a poet *de premier élan*; he is more like Virgil, who wrote fifty rough lines and spent a whole day reducing them to twelve perfect ones. As a result of this method of working, there is something of a classical atmosphere about his poems, a certain solidity and statuesqueness, rare in English literature, for an analogy with which we have to go back to Walter Savage Landor, or further still, to Milton. Yeats himself has left it on record to what extent the writing of poetry can be sheer hard work. "My poetry", he says[1],

> costs me endless labour. I begin every day at 11.0, and work steadily till lunch at 1.30. After that I may or may not write. But mornings without work would be unthinkable. I sit down to it, as some French poet has said, like the galley slave to his oars. I begin with great difficulty. The thing that gets you over the horrible business of beginning is the momentum of the subconscious. The weight of its momentum grows with experience. Inspiration can be as automatic as the clock.

Again, speaking of his later period of composition, he says:

> My pace is now seven or eight lines a day. It used to be that many a week. A little poem in "The Wind Among the Reeds", that describes the beloved as a fish, cost a whole week and several sleepless nights, and another poem called "The Impetuous Heart", which is only six lines long, took nine unbroken hours to write.

[1] I am indebted for this and certain other passages quoted to Miss Louise Morgan's *Writers at Work*.

We may note too that Yeats is one of those poets who cannot work without paper in front of them, and the appearance of spontaneity is generally deceptive, though not always: the beautiful "Cap and Bells" was dreamed and written down immediately on waking, exactly as it stands.

It may be noted too that Yeats was not in any sense a precocious poet. His earliest ambitions were directed towards painting, and his first verses were not written until he was seventeen, and then only out of school-boy rivalry. He did not seriously consider poetry as a medium of expression until he and his family had settled in London in the early 'nineties, and he became a member of the Rhymers' Club. All his poems, he tells us, are suggested by some situation in life, some sudden emotion, which comes in moments of personal excitement. He would then jot down a few prose lines in a notebook, leaving them purposely vague. It is after this that the work begins; the process of gradually giving the poem rhythmical form.

When we turn to his conception of poetry as an art, we are met at the outset by two fundamental principles, in striking contrast to the fashionable doctrines of the day. First: that poetry is incantation, and that its essence therefore is *rhythm*. Second: that the language of poetry is metaphor: that it works by means of symbols: that its function, therefore, is to suggest rather than to state, to persuade rather than to preach. So many poets of to-day are apt to forget that in origin music and poetry were one, simply the utterance of rhythmical sounds, and that poetry neglects the ear at its peril. Poetry is meant to be recited or at least spoken aloud, not read, and spoken not as prose is spoken, but rather chanted, in order to bring out the effect of the rhythm, and to lay the proper stress on every word; for every word in a perfect poem is as important as every other word, and it is impossible to alter or misplace any word without damaging the effect of the whole. To hear Yeats read his own poems was a lesson in elocution. He practised what he preached, speaking the verse in a slow chant, emphasizing the rhythm, and giving its value to each distinct word. And, so to speak, the more passionately felt, the more "poetical" the poem, the more pronounced and the more inevitable the rhythm. For, said Yeats, speaking of his own practice,

> Rhythm produces a faint hypnosis. I always work with regular metres. If I were writing an intimate love song, I could not use *vers libres*. In fact the more intimate the poem is, the more obvious is the metre I choose.

We might expand this and say, speaking generally: the more famous a poem, the more obvious its metre, as for example in the Ballads, the folk poems of any country, the poetical passages in the Authorized Version, and Yeats's own most famous poem—"The

Lake Isle of Innisfree". For Poetry, like all the arts, is universal in its appeal, and the only universal language is rhythm. We do not have to learn Russian to appreciate Tchaikowsky, or German to love Mozart, and it is even true to say that we need not know Greek to experience something at least of the glories of Homer; and the reason is the same in each case: that strong emotion tends always to express itself rhythmically, whether in the dance, in pure sound, or in the musical arrangement of words.

The universal appeal of poetry depends too upon its use of symbols, the expression of abstract emotional states in concrete images, so that, as Wordsworth says, poetry carries truth alive into the heart. Into the heart, observe, not into the head, for when poetry becomes over-intellectualized it ceases to be itself and usurps the place of philosophy. And the only language understood by the heart is that of symbols, images, metaphors. The Lake Isle of Innisfree is not a particular island on a particular lake in the west of Ireland; it is to each and all a symbol of the Land of Heart's Desire, wherever that may be, perhaps not on the earth at all. This is precisely the poet's function—to take one isolated concrete thing, and by his art to make it represent or suggest an emotion or state of mind common to all men at all times. That is why

> nothing new is good as a subject for poetry. The spade is ancient, it has become a symbol. But the sewing-machine has not had time to become a symbol. Certainly a few prosaic elements are good in poetry, to give it a touch of reality. But the substance of poetry is a mass of symbol which has been passed on from age to age, slightly enlarged, but only slightly, as time goes on. It is a slow process because human experience is capable of taking in only a little at a time. In three or four generations perhaps, the machine may be a proper subject for poetry, but any poetry written now about the machine will be superficial, will be merely rhetoric. For you can always write rhetorical poetry about any subject under the sun if you have an exciting conviction on the matter.

But symbolism is not exclusively concrete. There is an inexhaustible mass of philosophical material from the past that is deeply embedded in us emotionally, an incredible accumulation of material about nature and the supernatural that has as deep associations emotionally as the spade or any other concrete symbol. Some of it is Platonic, and some of it is older than Plato, going as far back as the Vedas. In other words, a poem must be at once local and universal, and so Yeats says:

> I like to think of my poem as everybody's song, to think that thousands of men all over the world have felt the same thing. I try to think of myself perhaps as a camel driver. I choose the camel driver because he represents something very ancient. But it must be myself and it must be also the camel driver. The

camel driver is the subconscious. The poem is prosaic and useless unless it is the song of the subconscious, the camel driver's song, which is everybody's song. The philosopher Vico said: "Do not believe in any philosophy that does not begin in myth". So I would say: "Do not believe in the depth of any emotion that has not a similar ancestry".

Thus, though we may laugh at the science of the Greeks, we are still held spellbound by their poetry, for Homer is concerned only with the immutables, emotions which we still feel, expressed in terms of things which we still touch and see. Science progresses, and the belief of to-day is to-morrow's superstition, but poetry can never progress, it can only be perfect.

It is clear therefore that on the question of these two great principles—rhythm and symbolism—Yeats is essentially an orthodox poet. Unlike the metaphysical poets he does not believe that poetry is primarily the vehicle of thought, but with Keats he believes its part is to re-create emotion; unlike the propagandist poets he does not believe that poetry is concerned with the statement of facts or the furtherance of a cause, but with Coleridge, that its aim is to suggest, to beguile or to enchant. Speaking of himself and his fellow poets of the 'nineties—

> We were the last romantics—chose for theme
> Traditional sanctity and loveliness:
> Whatever's written in what poets name
> The book of the people; whatever most can bless
> The mind of man or elevate a rhyme;
> But all is changed, that high horse riderless,
> Though mounted in that saddle Homer rode
> Where the swan drifts upon a darkening flood.

To consider now the poems themselves. The thing that strikes us is their scope—the steady development from one period to another, from the musical lyrics of the 'nineties, the period of Dowson and Verlaine, through the pre-war years and the war itself, until we are confronted with the remarkable, perhaps unique spectacle of a poet who has already attained an international reputation—as witness the award of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1923—and who might be thought to have had his say and to be likely in the future to decline in power or to repeat himself, who is, instead, in process of originating and perfecting a new style, a new technique to fit the changing times, the iconoclastic *Weltanschauung* of the post-war years: in a word, challenging and surpassing the younger generation on their own ground. This adaptability is the thing that puts Yeats in a class by himself among the poets of the last half century. Judged by his earlier or later period alone his position would be assured, but that the same poet should have written in his youth "Innisfree", and

in age "Sailing to Byzantium", makes of him an altogether exceptional figure in the history of lyric poetry. It is instructive to consider these two poems as examples respectively of his earlier and later styles, particularly since both express the same fundamental emotion, the nostalgia of the soul: though one expresses this emotion under the direct, objective symbol of something within the poet's own practical experience, the other in a more indirect, imaginative form—fit contrast in itself to indicate the difference in spirit between the pre- and post-war generations. "Innisfree" is too well known to need quotation in full, from the beginning with its echo, repeated at the end, of the Authorized Version—

> I will arise and go now, and go to Innisfree . . .

to the last stanza—

> I will arise and go now, for always night and day
> I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore
> While I stand on the roadway, or on the pavements grey,
> I hear it in the deep heart's core.

The inversion of "pavements grey" by itself marks this as an early work. Later the order of natural speech is always followed, and if "poetic" diction is allowed, "poetic" syntax is strictly avoided. Yet even thus early the authentic note is there—in the famous second line of the last stanza, and in isolated passages and lines elsewhere we can measure the promise of what is to come. There are, in fact, lines which suggest the possibility of his development into a more universal poet than he actually became.

> Our lives are love and a continual farewell.

We shall see later why this element in him never matured. Despite the gorgeousness of the trappings and caparisons of the Celtic Twilight, in contrast to so many of his fellow poets and imitators, there is no poet less sentimental. He is not the slave of fashion. The nobility of his cast of thought coupled with a persistent tendency to self-criticism, which are to issue later in unadorned strength in the political and satiric poems, carry him triumphantly over the sloughs and pitfalls of the age, so that where we might expect mawkishness, we find decision, and instead of sentimentality, a passionate tenderness—in "When you are Old . . " for instance, or "The Song of the Wandering Aengus". So, following his course, we pass from strength to strength, through the austerity of "To an Irish Airman" or "To a Friend Whose Work has come to Nothing", the delicacy of "Memory" and the classic precision of "A Thought from Propertius", until the power so carefully husbanded, so ruthlessly controlled, attains to a new mastery of form and a new freedom of expression in the solemn and marvellous music of "Sailing to Byzantium".

An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress,
Nor is there singing school but studying
Monuments of its own magnificence;
And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
To the holy city of Byzantium.

The poet then confesses his weariness of life, his longing for death, and ends in words which give us, as it were, within the compass of a single stanza, a self-portrait of his poetry in general—

Once out of nature I shall never take
My bodily form from any natural thing,
But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
Of hammered gold and gold enamelling
To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
Or set upon a golden bough to sing
To lords and ladies of Byzantium
Of what is past or passing or to come.

Of the qualities which inform both his earlier and later verse it would be difficult to make an assessment which would meet with general agreement. Everything Yeats wrote is so stamped with his own individuality that we cannot mistake it for the work of any other poet, and this very uniqueness defies analysis. All the same we can isolate certain qualities which, if not peculiar to Yeats, contribute to the tone and atmosphere of his poems. Mention has been made of his strong sense of rhythm; and the diversity and thoroughness of his rhythmic structures distinguish him in these days of *vers libres*, of loose and broken rhythm, of half rhymes and of no rhyme or rhythm at all. Secondly, one may point to his gift for a phrase; that power of juxtaposing words so that their sequence has about it something inevitable; so that we are made to feel that the phrase and the thought which prompted it have coalesced organically, as though the words were the embodiment of the thought, the thought made flesh. Thirdly, and this is a quality which perhaps more obviously than any other distinguishes the great from the minor poet, there is his power of re-creating words, of making old words new, restoring to words become empty of content by constant use and misuse, a new fullness of meaning, a new suggestiveness, and new overtones of emotional association. Consider in this connection his use, for instance, of such common words as "bitter", "fabulous", "proud", "brilliant", "foul". This power is seen at its highest in his use of abstracts. They have a curious concreteness about them, almost a life of their own. The exercise of the same power may be seen in a different guise, in his capacity to mingle observed and magical or symbolical imagery without sense of strain or paradox. Fourthly, one

may remark on the aristocratic, fastidious *tone* of his poetry. This applies as well to the "popular" impersonal poems as to those springing from intimate personal experience. This attitude of aloofness, which makes it impossible to imagine the poet leaving his tower to come down into the market-place, springs from the roots of his nature. Yeats had a lofty and nowadays perhaps old-fashioned idea of the poet's function and place in society. Quite early in his life he became an almost legendary figure, and the seclusion of his later days, the distance he placed between himself and all but his intimates of long standing, were in large measure calculated to encourage this atmosphere of mystery. To Yeats, the poet—the artist in the wide sense of the word—is not as other men. Though we may feel inclined to censure the pride that inspired this attitude, we should also reflect that in these days of mass production and cut-and-dried opinion, any influence which tends to elevate the name of artist, with all that it implies of independent thought and scrutiny, cannot be a bad one. At the same time this exclusiveness has its defects. There is at times a certain emotional sterility in the poems, a lack of sympathy with human interests and human failings, and a too studied dramatization of the poet's own personality. This coldness, where the intellect is allowed to override the heart, is the most serious adverse criticism of Yeats than can be made. It is particularly in evidence in the transitional stage of his work, before disillusion had given place to a new creative impulse. For Yeats, from the point of view of the "feeling types" into which a modern critic in a recent work has divided the poets, comes within the "Protestant" as opposed to the "Catholic" class. He is to be ranged with Milton and the later Wordsworth among those artists who mark out their own territory and shut their eyes to the rest of the world; who hold fast to their integrity as Job did, and who refuse to yield their personality to experience, but force experience to submit to them. Their strength lies in the unremitting effort to dominate themselves and their own chosen sphere. They are at their best when personality is asserting itself most actively. Their virtues are obvious, but their chief and inevitable failing is that "last infirmity of noble minds"—pride. Not for them the all-embracing humility of a Shakespeare or a Keats, whose strength lies in passivity, which Keats called "negative capability", and which is the *acceptance* of experience, the annihilation of personality, that the forces of life may find a voice through them, instead of being moulded and interpreted to their own ends.

Finally there is the quality of so many of his last lines. They are satisfyingly final and yet vibrating with a continuity which seems in some mysterious way to connect the poem with the general current of life. The emotion of the poem merges with the inner life, so that one seems conscious of the very flow of existence. This is a common effect of great music, but is rare in poetry. Further, when

it does occur in poetry the emergence from the "quiet centres" of consciousness, the return to common life and common perceptions, is accomplished without any sense of harshness or disillusionment, but gently, almost imperceptibly, the magic fades, like colours from a sunset. It is curious to reflect that Yeats, in this sense most musical of poets, had no ear for music itself, and indeed could not hum the simplest melody in tune.

It is too early to attempt to estimate Yeats's final position in the hierarchy of English letters, except to say that without doubt he is in the major succession. His influence on his contemporaries at all stages of his life has been profound, and his appeal alone among modern poets has been equally to those with conservative and radical tastes in poetry. He is one of the few important poets who have "succeeded" in a worldly sense, and his name is widely known outside the ranks of those particularly concerned with poetry. True, this has happened before, to Tennyson for example, but rarely if ever has it happened before in the case of a poet who at no stage in his career has wooed his audience or written "down" to any section of society, in a word, who has never been concerned with popular appeal, nor deviated a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path of artistic integrity. In fact he wrote always for the minority who care for poetry as something more than a pleasant but unessential adjunct to life. Others have had an ideal as high, and held it before them as consistently, but in their lifetime have been misunderstood like Shelley, condemned by indifference like Blake, or openly attacked like Keats, and have had to wait for posterity to justify their faith. And while it would not be true and never will be true to call Yeats a popular poet in the sense that most of his verse appeals to most people, the recognition accorded him in his lifetime was considerable, and it is certain that his influence will increase rather than diminish. One result of his self-discipline and his refusal to be content with anything short of perfection as he saw it is that his fame is not likely to suffer from any future process of weeding out. A writer is great in virtue of his silence, by what he leaves unsaid, as by what he says. A writer who leaves behind him a small body of perfect work is more likely to command attention afterwards than one whose grain is hidden in a cloud of chaff. The work of Wordsworth and Tennyson has suffered—is suffering—from the need of winnowing, while Sappho has a reputation as a lyric poet unrivalled, resting only on a few incomplete poems; and in our own day, had he published everything he wrote, A. E. Housman would not hold the position in our hearts and on our lips that he does. Art is the selection of significant form and detail, the rejection of the otiose and the redundant, and those who, like Yeats, have the temperament or the courage to prune drastically, are, other things being equal, more likely to flourish and to survive.

Yeats was himself influenced not so much by other poets as by traditions—Irish folklore, the Celtic legends, astrology, the myths of Greece. But all these he made his own, transforming them in the crucible of his mind. The figures of the Celtic world mingle happily with the astrological symbols of the Tower, the Moon and the Rose, even the signs of the Zodiac, only because they have been given a new reality as the expression of some aspect of the poet's mind. Where he was influenced by individuals the influence was mainly patriotic. One whom Yeats considered another Anglo-Irishman—Blake—was the most pronounced influence of all, though here again it was intellectual rather than æsthetic. What Yeats got from his intensive study of the Prophetic Books was the raw material of poetry, not poetry itself. As a poet in the technical sense his achievement is so much his own that it is difficult to trace any influence at all. But it may be said that in part at least the magical effect of the movement of some of the earlier lyrics is due to his study of the verse translation by Fergusson and others of the traditional Gaelic poetry of Ireland, where an attempt was made to preserve the rhythm and idiom as well as the sense of the original. Certain poems of Yeats, notably in "The Wind Among the Reeds", strike one as un-English in movement, with an other-worldliness about them as pronounced as, though different in kind from, "La Belle Dame sans Merci" or "Kubla Khan". The same effect is noticeable in Lady Gregory's translation from the Irish epic cycles, and though Yeats himself had no Gaelic, the mixture in him of Irish and Cornish blood made it inevitable that the note of the Celtic horn should blend with his own more personal music.

> Shanwalla, where a willow-bordered pond
> Gathers the wild duck from the winter's dawn.

What worlds divide this from the pastiche and platitude of Moore and nearly all the earlier Irish national poets! For the first time we see—more—we have an emotional experience of Irish landscape. Moore's scenes might be anywhere: they are no more typical of Ireland than of Italy. But these lines of Yeats, exemplars of so many others, have a chaste, Miltonic beauty. They are etched with the economy and precision of a Japanese lyric, and in fact Yeats was influenced, particularly in his plays, by translations from the Japanese.

He was himself much occupied with his position in literature. At first he saw himself as the successor of the patriotic poets—Davis, Mangan, Fergusson—

> Who sang to sweeten Ireland's wrong,
> Ballad and story, rann and song.

Later, when his interest in politics had lessened and given place to the inner drama of personality and the problem of its expression in

poetry, he tended to identify himself more with the metaphysical poets—Donne in particular—and from the point of view of poetry as a discipline with Landor, whose verse has in it the true classic economy. Later still he returned in spirit to Ireland, only this time an Ireland not so much an end in itself, as symbolic, as a house passionately divided against itself, of universal humanity, and so of the individual at war in his own soul. Then he aligns himself with Burke, Berkeley and above all, Swift, in whom this theme of self and anti-self assumes perhaps for the first time in the modern world a general significance:

> Swift has sailed into his rest;
> Savage indignation there
> Cannot lacerate his breast,
> Imitate him if you dare,
> World-besotted traveller: he
> Served human liberty.

But there is really no one figure in English literature with whom Yeats can be compared as a whole. Looking back much further we can find, however, a writer with whom he may fairly and instructively be compared, with whom he seems to have more in common in his excellences and limitations, in style, if not so much in content, than with any other. This is the Latin poet Catullus. It would not be wise to press such a comparison too far, but apart from their similarities as poets, it derives a certain validity from the parallel state of the political and emotional backgrounds against which their lives were lived and their interests developed. Catullus too came from the Celtic part of Northern Italy: the *perfervidum ingenium* of the Celtic peoples, though it takes different forms, is their common heritage. Both will be remembered primarily as love poets; they are both intensely personal, and hate as deeply as they love; both excel as incidental poets; both at their best have a final simplicity of utterance which often hides the subtlety of their thought, and both are daring and successful metrical innovators. Catullus is the most Greek in spirit of the Latin poets. Yeats too has the Greek sense of beauty and order. In a sense the two are interchangeable, for where there is order, the disciplined arrangement of parts, there is beauty. He has too a Greek sense of the value of personality and human life, and something of the pathos of those who, like the Greeks, think that this life is all we have to cherish: that it is better to be a slave on earth than a king among the shades below. Reflection on the shortness of this life induces a pessimism expressed finely in the translation of the chorus from "Oedipus at Colonus".

> Never to have lived is best, ancient writers say;
> Never to have drawn the breath of life, never to have looked
> into the eye of day;
> The second best's a gay goodnight and quickly turn away.

In many other poems he laments the passing of life and the transience of beauty, always with the Greek clearness and strength, born perhaps of the very sense of limitation which such a belief imposes. Even in this life, short as it is, we die many deaths, and it may mean the work of a lifetime to penetrate to the essential "I" beneath the changing mask of appearances.

> Everything that man esteems
> Endures a moment or a day.
> Love's pleasure drives his love away,
> The painter's brush consumes his dreams;
> The herald's cry, the soldier's tread
> Exhaust his glory and his might:
> Whatever flames upon the night
> Man's own resinous heart has fed.

He casts his net no wider than this. The subject-matter of his whole philosophy is himself and the search for an integrated personality. It is an artist's philosophy, in so far as it can be called a philosophy at all. In this, his course, though they reached different conclusions, is parallel with that of Baudelaire, a tragic figure, still misunderstood seventy years after his death. Baudelaire in the end learned humility, and found salvation in the *abnégation de soi*: Yeats travelled the same road, but his lack of capacity for suffering—*la fertilisante douleur*—prevented him from ever reaching the goal. This is the cause of his failure in "humanity": this it is that prevented him, as a poet, from scaling the greatest heights of all. He was afraid of the stultifying power of the unanchored intellect; he rails against the barrenness and aimless drift of abstraction; but in the end he could not entirely escape its toils, nor break down the barriers of intellectual pride.

But after all, analysis and criticism are secondary matters, and must never be permitted to lose contact with the touchstone of the works themselves. We live in an over-critical age, and too often it seems that, in the words of Yeats, our culture may be likened to a spider suffocating itself in a web of its own spinning. This tendency can only be corrected by forgetting commentaries and returning again and again to the originals which prompted them. Though the personality of Yeats seems likely to occupy the attention of critics to the exclusion of his poetry as poetry, it is as a poet that he must finally be judged. In the sense that in an eccentric age he chose to concern himself with the universal commonplaces of personal life which have been the subject matter of poetry since literature began, and that he treated these in a manner original, yet in conformity with the basic canons of the art, he may well be taken at his own estimate, and reckoned last but not least of the great romantics.

# DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS.

*This Section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.*

*Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.*

*Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.*

## AN INDUSTRIAL HARVEST FESTIVAL.

By Jack Singleton.

Most of us have conducted Harvest Festival services in village Bethels, where people have brought the first fruits of their fields and orchards and given thanks to God in real praise. Most of us, too, have attended those in towns, where the only point of real interest was how the name got into the zeppelin of a marrow or whether the parson would squash the grapes the next time he emphasized his point. A sense of reality was lacking in the thanksgiving. The townsman is more familiar with the tin-opener than with the ploughshare. How can we translate into the terms of the town that atmosphere of true worship, of praise arising out of work plus faith, that exists in the village "Harvest"?

Here are a few notes on how we tried to solve the problem in a down-town church in the West Riding. We determined on an Industrial Harvest Festival. Yet it should not be entirely industrial, for, although Bradford is the "woollenopolis" of the world, a farm exists within ten minutes' walk of the Town Hall, and city dwellers do need reminding occasionally that nothing grew originally in tins or cellophane, and that man ultimately depends for life on earth, sky, and sea. Our Harvest array, therefore, centred round the picture, which was presented by *Child Education*, of the family saying grace in a farm-house, "Thank you for the world so sweet". Underneath it we arranged fruit, flowers, vegetables, cereals, a glass of water, and a few agricultural implements. On each side and providing a background, we pinned appropriate railway posters (kindly given), *e.g.*, "The Night Mail", and blue prints. In front of these we had various objects symbolizing the work of our people. Different sizes and types of wheels, painted silver and grey for the occasion by the firm who loaned them, represented engineering and machinery.

The "Bradford" trade, our staple industry, occupied a prominent place, and we indicated the full process—fleece, tops, noils, a skep of bobbins, cheeses, shuttles, and finally a piece of finished cloth. The city has a colliery within its boundary so we showed a pit-lamp and a huge lump of hewn coal. Typewriter and telephone suggested office work. In one corner was a bench with wood and plane and shavings to remind us that Jesus was a carpenter. In the other, for man does not live by bread alone, the arts were represented—painting, music, pottery, sculpture, and literature, from the Prayer Book to a "Penguin". Wireless and the Press also had a place. A border of cog wheels and apples rounded off the array. Firms and City departments were eager to help us, and the Press gave us good publicity.

We had three things in mind in the services:

1. To thank God for the harvest of the field and the factory.
2. To ask forgiveness from Him because we often abuse His gifts and prostitute the powers of mind and muscle with which He has endowed us, *e.g.*, poverty amidst plenty, armament manufacture.
3. To seek guidance that we might organize our individual and industrial life in the future more in accordance with the spirit of Jesus.

I usually took the morning service myself, but in the evening the local M.P., the head of the Employment Exchange, and the President of the Textile Society, have given addresses, while the lessons have been read by an unemployed man, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, black-coated and "overalled" workers, *etc.* The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress used to attend to give the service civic dignity, and we tried to interest employers and Trade Union officials. In addition to the usual Harvest hymns we chose special ones—"Jerusalem", *C.H.* 555, 562, 648, 582, *F.H.B.* (very good) 49, 59, 61, *etc.* Suitable prayers were offered, *e.g.*, *Youth at Worship*, Nos. 148, 182, 193-6, *S.C.M. Book of Prayers for Students*, pp. 153-4, 42. For a second lesson there is *Ecclesiasticus* 38, Gordon Bottomley's poem "To Ironfounders and Others", a few lines from "Woodbine Willie", and so on.

In the afternoon the children hold their service and a golden opportunity is offered to the imaginative superintendent. A good hymn here is Doris Street's "Town Joys", which appeared in the *Junior Concise Guide* for April, 1938, and can be sung to "St. Denio". It is possible to bring before the children the fact of their dependence on so many who labour with hand and brain at home and overseas, "that by the work of all each may be fed". A pageant suggests itself, the children being dressed to represent different trades and nationalities—miner, negro cotton planter, Spanish peach

grower, Yorkshire farmer, fisherman, train-driver—and bringing appropriate offerings and models in their hands. A prayer, reading, or hymn could follow each gift, and the one who brings the offering might say something of its cost in life and labour. Such a pageant would leave the impression that our modern "Harvest" does mean co-operation of man with God and of man with man. This point could be exemplified in Bertha Krall's story (which might form a fitting climax), "A Tin of Peaches", to which, when I gave the story, I added a sequel of my own, "A Woollen Vest", in which the Spaniard who grew the peaches for us here receives a vest made of Yorkshire wool.

To arouse interest one year we printed a leaflet with two photographs on it—a church interior and a mill interior, and below, "Are they related? Come to our Industrial Harvest Festival".

These are just a few suggestions which may encourage others to experiment, for there are limitless variations. May I say finally that it was not a "stunt", but an attempt, in many ways successful, to make a town Harvest more realistic, so that worship becomes in truth the honouring of God in the life and work of every day.

## SUNDAY OBSERVANCE AND FREEDOM.

By W. S. Ferrie, M.A.

From time to time in different parts of the country new breaches of the traditional observance of Sunday as a day of rest and worship appear. Then people divide, and are not very clear about the dividing-line between them. Once, it happened that there were "sabbatarians" who would impose by any means at the disposal of the law a rigid abstinence both from work and from amusement. They would impose such abstinence upon all alike, both upon those who might be thought to need some external discipline to encourage them in a course to which in their hearts they assented, and also upon those who in their hearts rebelled against the discipline as tyranny.

It is, of course, utterly wrong to suppose that all who want some common recognition of the day of rest and worship belong to this category. And yet some such assumption commonly is made. When freedom is the word that rallies the other side, the underlying assumption is that the case for a common observance is based on tyranny. But the placing of the dividing-line is not such a simple matter as that.

Recently, the question has been raised in this locality by the promoting of boxing and all-in wrestling exhibitions on Sunday mornings and evenings respectively. There was protest, of course. The Concerted Action Council of the Churches made representations to the Licensing Justices, only to learn that the Justices had no

power: "Neither music, singing, dancing nor stage plays were involved". Presumably the law is such that if anybody were to sing at such a public entertainment the promoter would be punished because he had no licence. He does not need a licence to promote an all-in wrestling show. The Concerted Action Council carried the matter further, and pressed for the promoting of a parliamentary bill by which the Corporation might have the necessary powers conferred upon it. The position is now that a promise has been given that this question will be included with others for the consideration of the local authority the next time it is promoting such a bill. By that time it is more than possible that people will have got used to the innovation and the attitude of protest will have weakened.

But the fact of special interest in the matter is that many people in the local churches, including some ministers, have taken the position that to invoke the law is to threaten an invasion of the freedom of individuals to do what they like on Sunday. Apparently they suppose that this simple statement of the issue as one of freedom or tyranny settles the question.

This is a failure to realize that Sunday, so far as it continues to be a day of rest and worship, is already safeguarded by law. One might fairly ask whether in logic all legal restrictions ought to be abolished in the name of freedom. For instance, a distinction is made in factories and shops between Sunday and the other days of the week. It is not merely that workers are entitled to a holiday once in so many days, but they are entitled to it on *that* day. Necessary work on that day must be paid for at higher rates. This is enforced by law. A lighthouse-keeper who was dismissed because he refused to do unnecessary work on a Sunday won his case for unemployment insurance. Sunday is a *dies non* in business. No banker, if he had it pointed out to him, would dare to cash a cheque deliberately dated Sunday. This is a matter of law. Restrictions are imposed on entertainments, and public-houses are limited in their hours of opening by the authority of law, exercised with variations through local by-laws.

The question is, Could Sunday as a day of rest and worship be preserved except by law? If the issue be put as one between freedom and tyranny, with the implication that to invoke the law is to sin against the right of everybody to do what he likes, then how is it proposed to maintain the tradition? It is no answer to say that people who want to go to church will still be free to do so. They will be having their weekly holiday on different days, and so will not be able to assemble together. This would not matter so much if we held a High Church view, and attached a peculiar sanctity to buildings, altars, and forms. For these can be encountered at any time by the worshipper. But if we hold the Reformation opinion that the holy thing in the Church is the congregation of the people itself,

then it follows that without the statutory day the worship of the Church must lose its meaning.

Nor is it any answer to say that so long as the provisions respecting work are maintained by law, we can allow entertainment to be provided to suit the public demand, and let each please himself. Entertainment implies work; indeed all industry is only the other side of a public demand for something; to restrict the one is to restrict the other. Especially is this so under the conditions of our modern cosmopolitan civilization, in which life is increasingly controlled by an economic system from some remote impersonal centre, and it is possible to speak of the "amusement industry"! Once it is admitted that some restrictions should be imposed on Sunday entertainments, the only remaining question is which entertainments it is most appropriate to prohibit altogether, and which to limit.

The conclusion to which we are driven is that another conception of law and freedom is required than the popular conception which makes them quite simply opposites. It is a constant amazement how many people—and even people of education—assume that law means the limitation of freedom and freedom the limitation of law. A quite obvious illustration of the truth ought to occur to anyone who thinks at all. A policeman regulating traffic may be said quite truly to limit the freedom of drivers. But with far more truth he may be said to confer freedom on them. The law by which they must keep to the left of the road is the very means to freedom.

And so with Sunday. It is conceivable that if everybody in a community was invited, in the name of freedom, to do what he liked, each individual might soon contribute to making the day like any other day. And yet, so curious and complicated is the relation between community and individual, that it is equally conceivable that every single member of that community might deplore the result. People might say then, "What have we done to deserve this?". To which the answer would be, "What have we done to prevent it?".

## BLOOD TRANSFUSION.

### A USEFUL SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY.

By "A Blood Donor".

Blood transfusion should be regarded as an ordinary act of citizen service which everyone should be prepared to offer. Owing to the fact that it is still rather a spectacular form of service it has attracted to itself some undesirable publicity, with consequent distortion and misrepresentation.

To understand exactly what happens it is necessary to realize first of all that all blood falls into four categories, or groups as they are

called. People who possess blood of one of the first three groups are only able to give it to patients of the same group as themselves. People whose blood falls into the fourth group, however, can give it to anybody. These people are "universal donors".

It will readily be appreciated that as blood transfusion is often a matter of extreme urgency there is no time to test the blood of the patient and so a universal donor must be summoned. Thus it is that universal donors are those most in demand.

Group 1 donors are very rarely needed as Group 1 is not a common blood group. Group 2 comes next in need after Group 4, and then Group 3.

Another common fallacy is that only people with either a great quantity of blood, or those whose blood is "rich", whatever is meant by that, are suitable as donors. As a matter of fact, anyone in normal health may volunteer with perfect safety provided they follow these two simple hints.

First of all, some people think that having volunteered one must go when summoned. The truth is that you must only go if you are feeling perfectly fit—not from your own personal considerations so much as from the point of view of the immediate possible effect on the recipient of a transfusion from a man who was in some way ailing: it might prove fatal.

Secondly, as the vitality is lowered somewhat after the transfusion, it is important not to take the risk of catching cold, and it is a good plan on each occasion to have some refreshment immediately afterwards. This is invariably offered.

Having made up your mind to volunteer, you send in your name to the local Service, if there is one, or to the principal hospital, and they then arrange for a test, which consists of withdrawing a drop of blood from the end of one of your fingers; this drop is subjected to some chemical reaction to determine the category to which you belong. Your heart and lungs are also tested, and you are questioned as to the nature of any illnesses you have had which might affect your eligibility as a donor.

Having come through the test satisfactorily, your name will be put on a roster, and there the matter rests until you receive your first call. As this may come at any time of the night or day, it is necessary to obtain the permission of your employer before volunteering.

Your expenses, including loss of wages through time off, are paid by the Service, which makes a charge to the patient or to the hospital to cover the running expenses—telephone calls, taxis, loss of wages, postages, stationery, *etc*. The usual charge to a hospital patient is 5s., to a private patient from 2 to 5 guineas. The volunteers are not allowed to accept any payment.

If you are lucky your call will come during business hours; if you are unlucky a policeman will call you at dead of night. Or, in those

parts where local motorists have organized themselves into a voluntary night service to take relatives of patients and blood donors to hospitals during the hours when the transport service is suspended, you will be knocked up by one of these gentlemen, who will rush you there in his car.

The Headquarters of the Service are fixed at some place where someone is ready night and day to answer the telephone and summon the donor whose turn it is. Organizations such as Toc H are useful in this way.

The operation itself usually comes as a surprise, for you may look in vain for the person to whom you are to give your blood. It is quite a common thing for a donor never to see the patient, direct transfusion not usually being employed. This should overcome straightaway the principal objection which many people have to this form of service—the fear of being brought into close contact with pain and suffering.

In my own case I have seen all the patients, at my own request, and have watched the operation performed on some of them, but that is because I take an interest in such things; the doctors are quite communicative if they see that you are not squeamish. If you are obviously averse to seeing anything, the doctors will take good care that you do not even see your own blood; so you can have as much or as little experience as you like.

The blood is taken from a vein in the crook of one arm. An injection is sometimes given so that the donor will not feel the prick, but this is usually so slight that most doctors do not bother. A tourniquet is then applied to the arm just below the armpit and adjusted in such a way that blood is allowed to flow down the artery from the heart but is prevented from returning by the vein which is to be opened. As soon as the vein begins to swell owing to congestion of blood which is unable to proceed because of the traffic jam, the surgeon plunges a hollow needle into the arm at the point where the vein comes nearest the surface, and the blood is diverted down the needle into a rubber tube attached to the end of the needle and collected in a beaker. No other method of extracting the blood from a donor is now permissible in places where there is an organized Service.

The reverse process is then applied to the patient, except that in his case the arm is properly opened and the veins exposed. The quantity of blood taken may be anything up to a pint, but not more. The average human body contains 12 to 14 pints of blood.

The effect of blood transfusion is often miraculous; an apparently lifeless body with a barely perceptible pulse will commence to warm up, and within quite a short time a transformation takes place. Patients at death's door are often out of danger in less than a week.

In other cases a patient acquires the strength to undergo a

necessary operation or the stamina to face childbirth without undue anxiety, for blood transfusion is now used for pernicious anæmia, hæmophilia, and in maternity where the prospective mother is at a low ebb of vitality. The life-and-death cases are usually street accidents and maternity cases, or the result of unexpected complications following operation.

The quantity of blood taken is replaced in about three hours, but it takes three weeks for the quality to return to normal, and at the end of this time the donor is fit to serve again. In practice, however, a period of about three months is allowed to elapse before a donor is called upon again; in some Services the number of transfusions which a donor is allowed to give is limited to twelve.

Quite the strangest experience I had was that of being stopped in the street by a woman who claimed acquaintance. I had no recollection of ever having seen her before, until she reminded me that I had given her a pint of blood, which had been instrumental in saving her life after a severe internal hæmorrhage had brought her to the gates of death. She told me that everything that took place that critical night was deeply impressed on her memory even though she was so far gone, and she remembered my face clearly.

I was interested to learn that her two sons had joined the Service as an act of thanksgiving for their mother's recovery, and had each served on two occasions. It was difficult to realize that this healthy woman was the patient of six months before, and I had every excuse for failing to recognize her.

Another outstanding impression which remains with me is that of a frantic dash to the bedside of a woman who was dying of hæmorrhage in maternity. Her relatives were there, waiting for the appearance of the last slender chance of life. She died even as I was taking off my coat. Never had five minutes counted more, and I was just five minutes too late. It was an awesome thought.

One of my happiest memories is of the occasion when half a pint of my blood was required for a child of eleven. She was almost ethereal in her fragility and looked like a little piece of Dresden china. Yet she was such a bright little thing that even the surgeon, used as he was to his work, told me afterwards in a somewhat jocular vein that he could have cut me into little pieces without turning a hair, but that he had never yet been able to operate on a child without some sentiment. She made a wonderful recovery, I am glad to say.

Not the least of the rewards of engaging in service of this kind is the privilege of meeting the many fine types of men and women who spend their lives in the work of healing the sick.

Perhaps also there is a sentimental attraction in what is, after all, a beautiful piece of symbolism: the act of the outpouring of life-blood that another may live.

# ON LIFE AND BOOKS.

## THE TWENTIETH CENTURY EVANGELICAL REVIVAL.

**[The Revival began in the year 1940 and rapidly spread through the length and breadth of England. From the issues of the *Evangelical Digest* for the year 1941 we have culled the news items below.]**

Speaking in the Memorial Hall on Thursday last, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed great thankfulness to God for the movement now sweeping over England. In the proclamation of the Kingdom of God and in the service of humanity Christians were finding they were indeed one. There was no doubt that many precious years had been wasted in the discussion of matters which divided Christians : it seemed incredible that questions of inter-communion and re-ordination had held the foreground of their minds. Never again would Christians talk of interim periods of 30 years. Never again would Christians compromise in matters of principle. A thing was either right or wrong. If God blessed non-episcopal and unordained ministers, who were men to raise barriers? With incisive directness of speech, the Archbishop called all Christians to join in service and sacrifice that the movement now sweeping England might spread to the uttermost parts of the earth. The Church of England, now freed from its bondage to the State, would march in step with other Christians in the land.

The Churches and the Groups have now coalesced, so that churches are groups and groups churches.

There is as yet no confirmation of the report that Dr. Frank Buchman has persuaded Herr Hitler, Field-Marshal Goering, and Dr. Goebbels to join the Hoxton Group Movement. He has, however, flown to Mecca, where Herr Hitler had a triumphal entry yesterday, having taken the whole of the Moslem world under his protection.

The revival has spread to Wales. All Welshmen ministering in England have returned to their native land, and all Welsh ministers have resolved never to apply to English funds for monetary help.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have handed over all their property to the "Save the Children Fund".

The *Osservatore Romano* announces that a Papal encyclical will shortly be issued declaring that the Pope, "the servant of the servants of God", will endeavour to restore the religion of the Church to the poverty and simplicity of its first days. All Church lands and property are to be sold, half the proceeds to be given to the Duce on condition of withdrawal from Ethiopia, and the other half devoted to the task of Christianizing that country. 25,000 priests are sailing for Jibuti at once.

Lord Hugh Cecil, the Bishop of St. Albans, and Mr. Sidney Dark have joined the Editorial Board of *The Friend*.

The economies effected by co-operation between all Christian denominations in the education of the ministry have resulted in making £100,000 a year available for religious education among adults and children.

The Baptists have placed Regent's Park College, Oxford, at the disposal of the World Council for the use of refugees—Baptists from Rumania, Orthodox from Russia, Protestants from Czecho-Slovakia, and Catholics from Germany.

The *British Weekly* has announced that it will no longer review books published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

Group Teams, we learn, will henceforth make common lodging houses their headquarters, and not hotels.

We understand from *The Christian World* that religious newspapers will no longer carry advertisements of patent medicines.

Remarkable scenes were witnessed at the Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, when a sermon on "Silver and Gold have I none" resulted in a resolution to hand over the half-a-million-pounds Blake Estate for the training of unemployed adolescents.

The members of the League of Prayer and Service have resolved to give £1 each during 1942 to be used in publicity in the cause of peace.

The Methodist Conference, feeling that the maintenance of a denominational paper is contrary to the catholicity of the Christian religion, has handed over the *Methodist Recorder* to the World Council. It will be conducted henceforth by a representative group consisting of Dr. David Mathew, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Bernard Manning, two Methodist lay preachers (one ex-Primitive, one ex-United), Prof. John Hilton, and Commander Stephen King-Hall. The *Church Times* has decided on amalgamation with the *Recorder*.

The *Birmingham Post* contains a striking report of the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the city of Birmingham. All the members of the Church of Christ, including the Friends, gathered together in private houses, not more than twelve sharing in each sacramental meal: there were many thousands of such groups, and there are being added to the Church day by day those who are being saved.

Led by the Church of Scotland, all ministers of religion throughout the country have decided to pool and equalize their stipends: a minister working in a village or in a slum will now receive the same stipend as the minister of a suburban church.

The modern Calvinists have agreed to put into practice the belief that there are three marks of a Christian Church—the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline. Early attempts at the imposition of discipline have caused some consternation in Oxford and Cambridge Common Rooms.

The Archbishops and Bishops have refused any longer to wear distinctive dress, use titles of honour, live in palaces, or sit in the House of Lords. In the last divisions in the House in which they took part they all voted in favour of the Bills for raising the School Age to 16, and for the conscription of wealth.

Led by a modern Savonarola [the paper here is torn and the name indecipherable] the Christians in many towns and cities have burnt their hymn books and have agreed to use a common book.

Prophetic messages have been broadcast in religious services from the B.B.C. It has been resolved that all speakers on religious matters should no longer submit scripts of what they propose to say.

The Bishop of Gloucester, on resigning from his See, is taking up residence in the Cotswold Bruderhof, having placed a large sum of money in trust, the income of which is to be paid half to the Congregational Union for the support of evangelists and lay pastors, and half to Sir Stafford Cripps to resuscitate the United Front.

ALBERT PEEL.

Did it not reveal a situation which has had and will have tragic consequences for millions, Herr Erich Gritzbach's *Hermann Goering* (Hurst & Blackett, 8s. 6d.], now translated into English, would be amusing indeed. Written by the Chief-of-Staff, it reminds us of nothing so much as a small schoolboy's letter home about the School Captain.

> Hermann Goering's person and Hermann Goering's achievements are revealed to the heart and eye of the German people in the most perfect harmony as the expression of the nation itself.

When Goering shoots he never misses. He "always knew how to create uniformity and agreement", and people give to him for the joy of giving. He "will always be the driving force of the great work with which the Fuehrer has entrusted him". He never reads any document of more than four typewritten sheets.

> From his co-workers he demands as first essentials : joy in work, readiness to take responsibility, National Socialist ideas in thought and action whether in public duty or in private life, and tireless energy in carrying out their tasks for the Fuehrer. It is understood that they must work just as much and just as happily as he does.

And so on and so on. And readers will be surprised to learn that when he was appointed Commissioner for the Four Year Plan, "for a whole week, the front, second, and third pages of the leading foreign newspapers were filled with the news".

The volume is not a biography. It is not chronological ; it selects here and there, and the omissions are glaring. The illustrations are the best part of the book and speak for themselves.

# WORTH NOTING FROM RECENT BOOKS.

As I have said, only a very credulous soul could think of binding himself to observe the rules of the game when he has to face a player for whom those rules are nothing but a mere bluff or a means of serving his own interests, which means he will discard them when they prove no longer useful for his purpose.

ADOLF HITLER, *Mein Kampf*.

Christianity, or our version of it which I shall call Church-Christianity, has of course been responsible for much besides love and understanding. It has been responsible for war, torture and imprisonment, and—more disastrously—for the suppression of knowledge, especially some kinds of scientific knowledge. In spite of the fact that certain individuals and Christian bodies, such as the Quakers, have done and are doing much more good than harm, I fear it is quite certain that during the last seventeen centuries the Churches have done considerably more direct harm than direct good to mankind in general. It is likely that any other religion which we might have had, would have been as bad, though the detail might have been different.

NAOMI MITCHISON, *The Kingdom of Heaven*.

Psychology now confirms and elaborates, by the methods of modern science, what Christ proclaimed through prophetic insight, namely:

That sportsmanship is more important than winning the game.

That short-cuts to the abundant life destroy personality.

That the principle of expediency, namely, the end justifies the means, leads to mental and moral anarchy.

That playing the games of life according to the rules is more important than pre-occupation with the rules themselves.

That is to say, personality is the result of faith rather than of reason, of action more than of thought, of observing the laws rather than of interpreting them into new laws.

HENRY C. LINK, *The Rediscovery of Man*.

Religion is not created by its creeds, by its type of organized worship, or by its ecclesiastical machinery. These manifestations are the products, not the source, of religion. . .

The continuity of Christianity is independent of any continuity of credal interpretations, or of devotional behaviour, or of ritual forms: true continuity is a continuity of intention. . .

It is one of the features of this new development (Left Book Clubs) throughout the country that professing Christians and lapsed Christians and professed non-Christians are able freely to mingle together and yet to evolve a certain unity. It is almost as if they had thrown a bridge across the gulf, and that the spirit which is Christianity was reawakening, drawing with it both those who come from a traditional and from a revolutionary environment. . .

I should measure the sincerity of our Christianity largely by asking whether we have sufficiently extricated ourselves from class to be able no longer to regard ourselves as "gentlemen" or "ladies." I should ask whether we can mingle freely with men and women of other social grades without a social sense of awkwardness and without creating in them a sense of awkwardness. If we can, our religion is vital: if we cannot, our Christianity is still at an immature stage.

KENNETH INGRAM, *Towards Christianity*.

# FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS AND REVIEWS.

**Agape and Eros,** Part II, *The History of the Christian Idea of Love,* Vol. II. By Anders Nygren. E.T. by P. S. Watson, M.A. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

This continuation of *The History of the Christian Idea of Love* begins with Augustine and ends with Luther. Its analysis of Augustine's treatment of love is long and detailed and of great importance for the understanding of that elusive genius. Nygren makes clear the novelty of Augustine's conception of love and its immense influence on later Christendom. In it,

> the meeting of the Eros and Agape motifs produces a characteristic third which is neither Eros nor Agape but *Caritas*. Both Eros and Agape have contributed substantially to it, but it is itself new and unique. It is neither the primitive Christian love-motif expressed in terms of a Hellenistic flavour, nor is it the common Eros theory barely concealed under phraseology from the Christian tradition. Caritas is, if we may say so, both and neither of these. It is neither Eros nor Agape, but the *synthesis* of them.

Nygren points out the influence on Augustine's teaching of Neoplatonism.

> There is a blending of motifs on a large scale. He has done more than any other, by combining things Neoplatonic and Christian, to import the Eros motif into Christianity and to procure ecclesiastical sanction for it,

and yet at the same time, for him "Neoplatonic Eros has become the means of discovering Christian Agape". Augustine's doctrine of Caritas is thus "a fusion of very heterogeneous elements", a fusion of

> ancient eudæmonism with Christian love, of the desire of Eros with the devotion of Agape. The meaning of this synthesis is, in brief: *the Christian Commandment of Love gives the final answer to the question of ancient philosophy about the "highest good".* In this union the Christian idea of love is the losing partner, and that is simply because ancient thought is allowed to put the question.

Nygren proceeds to show how false is the common Protestant view that

> Paul, Augustine, and Luther form an unbroken succession . . . Augustine and Luther are *not* principally on the same line. As against Luther, Augustine is the man of *synthesis,* and it is in this that his strength lies. In true Neoplatonic manner, he can portray the "ascent" of the soul in the most glowing colours, and revel in the blessedness of the "Vision of God". On the other hand, like no other since Paul, he can exalt and praise Divine grace, which in absolute sovereignty, moved by its own love and mercy alone, elects and saves those who in themselves are nothing but vessels of wrath. *Augustine finds the synthesis of these two in his doctrine of Caritas, and it is this very synthesis which Luther smashes to pieces.*

The Roman Church has thus more right than has the Protestant to claim Augustine for its own. Yet much as Medieval theology owed to Augustine's teaching on *caritas,* it made two contributions to the Christian doctrine of love. The first, due "to the influence of the secular love-poetry which flourished at the Mediæval courts under the name of Minne-poetry", spoke of the soul as "the beautiful queen for whom God and Christ have a yearn-

ing desire". The second, "the Mediæval Passion-mysticism, which we find primarily in Bernard of Clairvaux, but also in Suso and Tauler, for example, and to some extent in Thomas à Kempis and the *Theologia Germanica*". On this Passion-mysticism Nygren writes :

> Concentration on the Passion of Christ undoubtedly helped to deepen understanding of the self-sacrificial Divine love. But at the same time the effect of this was neutralised in various ways, so that the result from the point of view of Agape must be said to be rather small. *In the first place,* it must not be forgotten that Passion-mysticism is at the same time *Bride-mysticism.* Its chief biblical text is the Song of Songs. This brings it into alarming proximity with Minne-piety. These two can no longer be regarded as relatively independent phenomena. The sensual, and still more the sentimental, strain in Minne-piety encroaches upon and inundates Passion-mysticism also, giving to its meditation on and love for Christ features that are all too human. Both as regards love and the Passion of Christ, Passion-mysticism is governed by a fundamental spirit far removed from that of the New Testament which says : "Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children" (*Lk.* 23[28]). This spirit of Mediæval Passion-mysticism has prevailed not only in the Catholic, but very largely even in the Evangelical Church, a fact to which many of our Passion hymns bear ample testimony. *Secondly,* the idea of *imitatio* itself raises an obstacle to the full apprehension of the Agape motif. Even in His death on the Cross, Christ is regarded by the Mediæval mystics primarily as *"exemplum"*. "In the Cross is salvation, in the Cross is life"—but, be it noted, only in the Cross which *we,* as we follow Christ, bear.

It is in Luther's teaching that Nygren discovers the revival "in opposition to all egocentric forms of religion", of "a purely theocentric relation to God".

> Against the egocentric attitude which had come to mark the Catholic conception of love, Luther sets a thoroughly theocentric idea of love. When Luther wishes to say what love in the Christian sense is, he draws his picture not from our love, not from the realm of human love at all, but from God's love, especially as this has been revealed in Christ. But this love is not an acquisitive love, but a love that gives.
>
> The very same thing which made him a reformer in the matter of justification, made him also the reformer of the Christian idea of love. Just as justification is not a question of the "iustitia" in virtue of which God makes His demands upon us, but of the "iustitia" which He bestows, so Christian love is strictly not concerned with the love with which we love God, but essentially with the love with which God Himself loves.
>
> The deepest difference between Catholicism and Luther can be expressed by the following formulæ ; in Catholicism : fellowship with God on God's own level, on the basis of holiness ; in Luther : fellowship with God on our level, on the basis of sin. In Catholicism, it is a question of a fellowship with God motivated by some worth—produced, it is true, by the infusion of Caritas—to be found in man ; in Luther, fellowship with God rests exclusively on God's unmotivated love, justification is the justification of the sinner, the Christian is *"simul iustus et peccator"*. It is above all this last—Luther's assertion of the sinfulness remaining even in the justified man—which has caused offence in Catholic circles. "According to Luther, God accepts the sinner as

righteous in such a way that the sinner remains a sinner" (Denifle). This is in absolute conflict with Catholic Christianity, which, in accord with its upward tendency, seeks to bring man into fellowship with God on the level of God's holiness.

God's love has made a new way for itself down to lost humanity. Once for all, and in a decisive manner, this has come to pass through Christ. He came to us in the form of a servant and in humiliation, yet His majesty has not thereby grown less. He has rather revealed it in still greater glory. His majesty is the sacrificial, self-giving majesty of love.

We hope that even these short extracts from Nygren's book may suffice to give some idea of its importance. It is some years since we have read so suggestive and significant a book on the history of doctrine, or one that makes so clear the difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic theology and ethics.

SYDNEY CAVE.

## CHARTRES IN MAY.

Oh, to be in England,
Now that April's there . . .

but there is something to be said for being in France in May; and it was not many hours after the choristers had finished their singing from Magdalen Tower that my train drew up at Chartres. Already as we rounded the bend into the station, "See Naples and die", I thought; and it was with a gladness reminiscent almost of Simeon that I stepped out into the quiet *place*, dominated, as all else is in Chartres, by the cathedral. Here one could walk in the road, with one's eyes on the cathedral, untroubled by the tearing, hooting motors of the city. In the study of what is great I love the oblique method, and, steadfastly declining the invitation to enter by either West or North portal, I therefore began my pilgrimage with a visit to the terrace by the former episcopal palace, turning my back on the cathedral's mounting *chevet*. It was not impudence, for that terrace is part of the continuity of Chartres: there of old *in hortulo juxta capellam* St. Fulbert used to walk, holding *vespertina colloquia* with the boys he loved, and there that day was a priest in tonsure and cassock playing at simple games with the boys from the cathedral school.

A little later the great West door of the cathedral was flung open for a funeral, and following the mourners I left the sunshine, which the stonework so delicately reflects, and went within, as into a mighty cave: *cassis spelunca latebris. Ibant obscuri, . . . perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*, for the emptiness of the cathedral is perhaps one's first impression. Here are no disfiguring monuments or tombs to divert the eye from its architectural glory; in honour of Our Lady, as M. Houvet has felicitously phrased it, *cette terre devait rester Vierge de toute sépulture humaine*. As my eyes grew more accustomed to the muted light, the symmetry and proportions of the building became plainer; but at Chartres it is the windows which hold one spellbound. Of the blue so lavishly used one can only say it is as incredible and inimitable as the blue of the Mediterranean, though quite another blue; indeed one had hardly realized before how many varied shades of blue there are. Here in the windows is what outside one finds in the sculptures—the stories of the Bible and the legends of the Saints repeated in endless variations, yet every time with the individual touch of the great artist, satisfying alike as separate lights or as part of the whole window. I sat before *Notre Dame de la Belle*

*Verrière,* before each of the three great rose windows, before the windows in the West Front with their absorbing, overpowering blue, and in every case I marvelled at their richness and at the genius of the artist. To their peaceful appreciation there was only one sad hindrance : the whole building resounded to the echo of many hammers. Precautions were being taken to fit the windows into frames, that in the event of war they might all be removed within two hours. By day this, and by night the searchlight from a neighbouring aerodrome flashing restlessly on the spires, ill accorded with the atmosphere of the place ; yet perhaps its essential peace was but the more marked thereby.

Out in the sunshine again I noticed the wallflowers, which at Chartres flower as wallflowers should, on any wall that offers, the older the better : far away up on the buttresses one could see the homely yellow. I noticed too the largeness of the stones with which the cathedral is built, and wondered afresh at the fervour which in that moment of religious enthusiasm inspired peasants and noblemen alike to draw the wagons bearing the stone, when beasts of burden were scarce. It is surely because its building proceeded from a wedding of religious impulse and creative activity which was unique even in the Middle Ages, that the cathedral to-day is so living and still possesses such creative power. The soaring vertical emphasis of later Gothic is not here, there is almost a heaviness about the building commoner in England than in France, but it is a resilient heaviness, by which a massive equilibrium is preserved, there is not a trace of stolidity or undue weight. In the curving arcades which decorate the buttresses—flung rather than flying across the aisles—there is evident a delight in the sheer force of opposing masses, which yields a sense of movement felt more often in the articulation of music or a great poem than in architecture ; it carries the mind back to the Pont du Gard, and makes Salisbury, Chartres' younger contemporary, seem the inhabitant of another world.

In the imagery, more perhaps than in the building, of the cathedral one sees the first flowering of the Gothic spirit. Beside the West door the figures are still formalized, massive, monumental ; but on the North they are more natural, they have begun to unbend, they are conversing : in Professor Hamann's words *sie machen einander den Hof,* and we see the true *Höflichkeit* or *courtoisie* of the Middle Ages. Medieval affectionateness is revealed in the figure of "the disciple whom Jesus loved", who is generally represented as a youth of Leonardesque, not to say feminine, features ; among the Apostles at the South door he is the only one to be beardless. The same direction of medieval emotion appears in one of the loveliest of all the sculptures, the one which crowns the outermost arch of the North porch. Here in the creation of Adam the Creator is no "ancient of days" but a youthful Christ, the incarnation of love and gentleness, tenderly fondling the new-created man ; the artist must have been thinking, surely, of St. Fulbert and his *charitas Christi, qua sicut filios amplectebatur.* Every type of temperament seems represented in these statues, from the mournful, ascetic severity of the Baptist to the alluring gracefulness of St. Modeste—for so M. Houvet calls her, one would think, were it not for the accompanying *puits* of her martyrdom, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle ; I privately named her Héloïse. How conscious one is in this imagery of the grand universality of the Middle Ages ! Scenes from the Gospels or the Apocrypha mingle unselfconsciously with figures representing the pagan virtues and vices or the animals of the Zodiac ; Nature and Learning join with piety in bringing their treasures, for all things are of God. There near the Christ in Judgment sits Aristotle, fearlessly poring over his book, his eyes heavy with much reading—at least

M. Houvet says it is Aristotle; but St. Fulbert's pupils called him Plato, so I have my doubts.

Apart from the cathedral, the city of Chartres has every right to the phrase it claims, *joyeau du Moyen-Age*. Nowhere have I seen so many unspoiled streets and narrow alleys, with a jewel of a house in nearly all and hardly a building without some trace of bygone art; many of the doors are original and retain their ancient knockers. The church of St. Pierre, where one may study the lovingly stumbling evolution from an irregularly groined vault to the true *ogive*, with a correspondingly halting development in types of capital, is worth a visit to Chartres on its own account; and there are several other churches, though once there were far more, as witness the names of the streets. Many of these names are rare in having preserved unchanged the older *au* form instead of *de*, as in the *Rue aux Prêtres* or the *Rue au Lait*. Then, if one descends to the lower town by one of the many wallflowered *tertres*, one finds not one but many medieval bridges over the Eure, by which the women do their washing; and from each of them one looks back up at the cathedral, majestic over all, whether in sunshine or by starlight.

By nine under a full moon the very houses seem asleep; the doors are bolted, the windows fast shuttered, the streets deserted save for a couple of stray cats. But it is at night that the spirit of Chartres is most awake, especially down there by the bridges; for then there is nothing to disturb the old town and its memories. "The streets are full of his genius", wrote an English monk of Fulbert a hundred years after his death, and Miss Waddell is not alone in having felt they are so still. Yet not of Fulbert only, for the hill of Chartres was a Druid centre centuries before St. Fulbert's Christian creation. No wonder that before nightfall the North transept of the cathedral had been crowded with listeners to a sermon in which, as befitted the first day of Mary's month, was urged the presence and blessing of Our Lady and All Saints about the cathedral and the town. The cloud of witnesses, the communion of saints, it is easy to believe in them at Chartres.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Messrs. Allen & Unwin are to be warmly congratulated on the publication of Mr. Bernard Miall's translation (from the French of the 8th edition) of Henri Pirenne's *History of Europe from the Invasions to the 16th Century* (21s.), and we are glad to note that they propose to follow it by a translation of *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. Pirenne has the delightful quality in a historian of being ready to wander from the beaten track; if he is not always convincing he is always suggestive. The present work is a marvellous *tour-de-force*. Taken prisoner in 1916 (he was Professor of History at Gand), Pirenne resolved to preserve his moral by disciplined use of his time; he learnt Russian, and day by day he wrote steadily at this history, lacking everything in the way of books of reference and library facilities. The *History* ceases in 1550, though the plan was outlined to 1914; when he returned to Belgium other studies claimed his attention, and the *History* was not even re-read. It is impossible to discuss here in detail a narrative which covers a thousand years; we can only recommend readers who have not been able to read the work in the original to seize the opportunity now offered. They will find in such theories as that of Luther as leader but not author of the Protestant revolution much food for thought.

EDITOR.

# DISCUSSIONS.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

### A Reply to the Rev. H. Bulcock, by Dr. A. E. Garvie.

In an article in the *Congregational Quarterly* for January, 1939, the Rev. H. Bulcock answers affirmatively the question: "Was the Double Use of Son of Man a factor in the Deification of Jesus?" From the history of religion he derives an argument for the denial of the common witness of the Christian Church amid its many divisions from the Apostolic Age onward that Jesus Christ our Lord was the Word of God Incarnate, the Divine Son knowing and revealing the Divine Father, and he describes the common Christian faith, which has been also hitherto the bond of the fellowship and the ground of the polity of the Congregational Churches, as a "deification" of Jesus. He ignores all the evidence that can be advanced for that common Christian faith from the New Testament and the history of the Christian Church, and endeavours to dismiss the doctrine of the person and work of Christ as a human speculation and not a divine revelation.

(1) With this crucial theological problem and this vital religious issue I shall not here deal, as I have already written much upon that theme. I shall content myself with a quotation from my *Revelation through History and Experience*. In regard to the interpretations of the Lordship of Christ, the primitive confession, given in the Pauline and Johannine literature, which Mr. Bulcock dismisses as "deification", I state:

> These interpretations we must not dismiss as vain speculation to be disregarded by Christian thought. The closing words of the posthumous volume by Dr. Andrews, *The Christ of Apostolic Faith*, deserve quotation in this connection: "The condition which Christian experience imposed on the thinkers of the Apostolic Age it imposes still upon us, and the condition is: None but the highest terms and categories of thought are adequate for the true interpretation of Jesus Christ" (164).

Mr. Bulcock will not venture to challenge the eminence and the competence of Dr. Andrews as a New Testament scholar; and I commend this small volume, the only portion of a much larger work which was to have been his *magnum opus*, as an adequate reply to Mr. Bulcock's contention. Those who are not familiar with scholarship may be assured that the majority of scholars who hold the Christian faith, because they share the Christian experience, would not agree with Mr. Bulcock's thesis.

(2) Before examining in detail the evidence which he offers, a criticism of his method may be made. No scholar can deny the value of the comparative study of religions. In the *religious-historical* method, which is followed in his article, there are two principles added to the principle of literary and historical *criticism* in dealing with the Old and the New Testament—*comparison* and *correlation*, and the one often passes into the other. The contents of the Christian religion are compared with those of other religions, and where similarity is detected dependence is generally assumed; the danger is that too superficial a comparison may lead to too arbitrary a correlation. Every religious belief, rite, custom, and standard should be examined in as complete a context as is possible; and it will often

be found that what appears the same is in another context different in significance and value, and so different that derivation is out of question. Accordingly in the comparative study of religions a distinction is being made between the "universalistic" method and the "intensive". In criticizing the universalistic method of Sir James Frazer and Sir Edward Tylor, the Rev. E. O. James, now professor of the Philosophy of Religion in Leeds University, writes[1]:

> The procedure lacks the precision of intensive study and is liable to classify together superficially similar but really incommensurable facts, with the result that false conclusions are bound to follow.

In Mr. Bulcock's argument this danger is not escaped. Similarity and dependence are too readily assumed, as I shall now try to show in detail.

(3) With some of his data I am in partial agreement, while not admitting the legitimacy of his use of it. I agree with him that one like unto a Son of Man in *Dan.* $7^{13}$ is a symbol for "the saints of the Most High" ($7^{18}$), whose rule was to supersede the tyrannies, the character of which was represented by beasts. That the conception was once individual, and then became collective, as Peake suggests, is a possibility for which there is no evidence, nor need we seek its source elsewhere than in the argument of the Apocalypse itself. While some scholars contend that Jesus' use of the term was mainly derived from the supernatural individual figure of the *Similitudes of Enoch,* I am myself doubtful whether in His home in Nazareth or afterwards He had access to this writing, or it was current enough in popular thought for Him to have learned it from His surroundings. For His declaration of His exaltation after death (*Matt.* $16^{28}$, $26^{64}$) we need not go beyond the development of His own consciousness. That Apostolic thought was influenced by it need not be questioned. As to Jesus' use of the term it must be admitted that in accordance with the meaning of the Aramaic *barnasha* He did not necessarily always use it of Himself alone, for the word might mean *any man* or *this man,* as well as the Man *par excellence,* the collective symbol of *Daniel,* or the individual figure of *Enoch.* It was not current as a Messianic title, or by its use Jesus would have given away the secret of His Messiahship, regarding which He exercised reserve. He put His own content into it, and we must not assume that its source discloses its meaning. I myself have been led by a meticulous study of the Synoptic Gospels to the conclusion that the content He put into it was derived from the picture of the Suffering Servant of *Isa.* 53. But I do not agree with Mr. Bulcock that "it is conceivable that the Suffering Servant passage of *Isa.* 53 may have been part of the same tradition". Just as the historical situation in the Maccabean age can explain the hope of the reign of the saints, a human rule after the bestial from which the Jewish people had suffered, so also the conditions of the Exile suffice to account for an original and independent development of the idea of the Suffering Servant, the missionary and martyr nation, even if a prophet's death was not the occasion for that development. The two conceptions are similar in this, that the reference is collective and not individual. I may here quote words written more than thirty years ago[2], which the study of the intervening years has not led me substantially to modify:

> The use which He (Jesus) makes of the title Son of Man does in no way weaken the conviction that the ideal which He set before Him for realisation was not the Davidic Kingship, but the Servant of Jehovah.

1 *Primitive Ritual and Belief,* 2.
2 *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus,* 119-120.

> That the title was suggested by the vision of Daniel and "one like unto a Son of Man" ($7^{13}$), and that Jesus claimed for Himself the dominion there described (*Matt.* $26^{64}$) need not be denied; but surely we may allow that Jesus had sufficient originality to put His own meaning into the title which He chose for Himself. Some of the sayings in which the name is used show Him in His lowliness and gentleness, far more like the Servant of Isaiah than the ruler of Daniel.

The modification I am now prepared to make is that not all passages in which the term is used must needs have an exclusive reference to Jesus Himself, and that the collective reference of the symbol *Son of Man* may have been present to His mind to this extent, that at the beginning of His ministry at least He did not anticipate how solitary He would be in the fulfilment of His vocation. He addressed His disciples as "the salt of the earth" and "the light of the world", and yet he warns them of the danger of the salt losing its savour, and urges the duty of the light to shine (*Matt.* $5^{13\text{-}16}$). The disappointment of His hopes is indicated in the parable of the Sower (*Matt.* $13^{1\text{-}9}$); and in His change of method in teaching in His parables. The future He now describes as "the mystery of the Kingdom". He called His disciples after Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi of His Messiahship, which He accepted, to take up the Cross and follow Him ($16^{24}$); and the deepening tragedy of His later ministry was their misunderstanding and estrangement. Even if this collective reference was in His mind, there is abundant evidence in the Gospels of His consciousness that He was not only one of the saints, but had a knowledge of God as Father and brought a revelation of God as Son as no other, and could offer men what elsewhere they could not find ($11^{25\text{-}30}$). No doubt Mr. Bulcock would challenge the authenticity of this passage, but I am myself convinced that it is sufficiently well attested.

(4) For my present purpose it will not be necessary to examine all the instances discussed of this collective reference of the term. I shall confine myself to a few which seem crucial. (a) *Mark* $2^{10\text{-}11}$: "That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power (R.V. marg. *authority*) on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy) I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed and go unto thy house". I cannot agree with Dr. Bruce, whom Mr. Bulcock quotes, that the assurance of forgiveness is "a word which might have been spoken by any man". Jesus Himself cured the man in proof of His own authority, not in support of a generalization about the saints or all men. Can any man speak the word of forgiveness on behalf of God without such authority, for forgiveness is not merely a declaration of the forgiving love of God, but an assurance that the condition of the forgiving love of God becoming effective—penitence—is fulfilled? The man was brought for a bodily cure; there is no indication of his penitence. It was Jesus' discernment which enabled Him so confidently to declare the will of God for this man. It was the authority of Jesus Himself which was challenged and was vindicated. This matter cannot be settled by one passage. The attitude of Jesus to sin and sinners must be taken into account, and that shows how God's love was mediated by His grace (*Cf. Luke* $7^{36\text{-}50}$; $19^{1\text{-}9}$).

(b) *Matt.* $8^{20}$: "Foxes have holes, and the birds of heaven have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head". In view of the evidence of homes ready to welcome Jesus, this saying cannot be taken literally. It refers to the personal "homelessness" of Jesus. *Matthew* places the incident at far too early a stage in the ministry. Although *Luke's* order is not always to be assumed as correct, he gives the saying

a more appropriate context. "When the days were well-nigh come that He should be received up, He steadfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem" ($9^{51}$). He had already warned His disciples that "the Son of Man shall be delivered up into the hands of men" ($9^{44}$). He had rebuked "a reasoning among His disciples, which of them should be greatest" ($9^{46}$), a proof of how far they misunderstood and were estranged from Him. *Luke* gives a third instance of the answer given to candidates for discipleship. The severity of the demand, as in the case of the rich young ruler ($18^{18-30}$), shows the concentration of the mind of Jesus on His approaching sacrifice, and the devotion which must be demanded of His disciples—a devotion that those He already had were failing to give Him. To me the collective reference would seem inappropriate to the actual situation, and the personal alone admissible.

(c) *Mark* $10^{45}$: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many". James and John, by their request "to sit on His right hand and His left in His glory" ($10^{37}$), and the indignation of the Ten at the two brothers ($10^{41}$), show how far the minds of the disciples were from His. Conscious of the solitariness of His own mind, it is in my judgment improbable that Jesus uttered a generalization, and did not appeal to such affection and loyalty as they still had to Himself, to learn from His example. By His death He hoped to accomplish what His words had failed to do, to emancipate them from their false aims and vain hopes. Mr. Bulcock's interpretations show the lack of precision of the universalistic method of comparison, from which "false conclusions are bound to follow", and which the intensive method I have used can correct. Even if he were successful in assigning the collective, and not individual, reference to every use of the term Son of Man, that would not afford a demonstration that what the New Testament teaches in regard to the dignity and authority of Jesus as Christ and Lord is due to the speculative activity of disciples, and had no adequate ground in His works and words, no warrant from His own self-consciousness.

(5) To enter the labyrinth of the interpretation of Revelation in Mr. Bulcock's reference to the "Two Witnesses" would turn me aside into a by-path from the high road of my present purpose. A few sentences must suffice. The idea of resurrection was common enough in Jewish apocalyptic thought not to demand in explanation any reference to the Daniel passage. The inaccurate statement of *Matt.* $13^{40}$ is evidently a later interpretation, as it breaks the continuity of the passage, is inconsistent with the refusal of a sign ($13^{38}$), and is absent from the parallel passage in *Luke* $11^{29-32}$. While *Rev.* $11^{6}$ does recall the story of Elijah and of Moses, there are two considerations against the identification. Moses was not slain, nor was his body seen by the eyes of men. God "buried him . . . but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (*Deut.* $34^{6}$). Elijah was not slain but was caught up into heaven in the chariot of fire (2 *Kgs.* $2^{11}$). Neither he nor Enoch (*Gen.* $5^{24}$) according to Jewish belief "tasted death" nor needed to be restored to life. If not for us, yet for any Jewish apocalyptist these were facts not to be gainsaid. For the conjunction of Moses and Elijah in the story of the Transfiguration, with which I am not here concerned, a much more obvious source than this obscure Jewish Apocalypse is to be found in *Malachi,* where the people are bidden "remember the law of Moses my servant", and the mission of Elijah the prophet as the herald of "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" is announced ($4^{4-6}$). The passage in Mr. Bulcock's article again shows the danger of the *universalistic* method to find "grist for the

mill" anywhere, when uncorrected by the meticulous care of the *intensive* method.

(6) This reply is already long enough, and I must pass over "the further phenomena" which Mr. Bulcock cites in support of his thesis, the main prop of which I hope I have sufficiently weakened. There is one phenomenon of such importance that it must be mentioned. Mr. Bulcock finds a problem in the disciples being unprepared for Christ's personal resurrection after repeated predictions of a risen Son of Man. When we remember how to the end the disciples continued cherishing their false aims and vain hopes, we may conclude that in regard to His predictions of His death as of His resurrection, the prophecy was fulfilled (*Isa.* $6^{9\text{-}10}$ quoted by Jesus, *Matt.* $13^{14}$).

To me it is inconceivable that Jesus, anticipating His death, did not definitely warn His disciples of it, and comfort them with the assurance that sustained Him. To deny this is to misread the record of the later ministry. With this assumption too Mr. Bulcock's account of the resurrection seems inconsistent.

> He never intended, we may believe, to predict His own physical resurrection, which apparently came to the disciples as an altogether unexpected event, which would have been strange had Jesus so definitely foretold it in this personal sense time after time, as the evangelists state. The resurrection of Jesus (probably some psychical experience of the disciples) within three days, and the resurrection of the righteous nation, "the Son of Man", after three days, suggest that the tradition of the latter did not give rise to the invention of the former.

One must be profoundly grateful to Mr. Bulcock that he acquits the apostles of the charge of being deceivers, and allows them to have been deceived by "some psychical experience". One cannot be so grateful that an issue of such importance for the Christian Church, which seemingly continues to be deceived, is dismissed in a few words in brackets. For hallucinations or illusions there must be some antecedent conditions of expectation, belief, or hope. Mr. Bulcock's contention is that there were no such antecedent conditions; the disciples were unprepared for Christ's personal resurrection. There must have been some objective fact as the ground of any psychical experience potent enough to overcome the strain on their faith from His death; some impression of, and conviction about, His person reaching deeper, holding stronger than Mr. Bulcock's argument would allow, to explain how even this their faith could be restored. Mr. Bulcock does not seem to appreciate how wide is the gulf between his conception of a human Jesus and the Apostolic Faith, which the Church still holds. It is because to me that gulf is so wide I have felt bound to undertake an ungrateful task in the defence of the Christian faith.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

# CURRENT LITERATURE.

*"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."*—FRANCIS BACON.

*"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."*—JOHN MILTON.

(*The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.*)

**Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism.** By M. M. KNAPPEN. Chicago & Cambridge Presses. 20s.

**The Rise of Puritanism.** By WILLIAM HALLER. Oxford Press. 22s. 6d.

These two volumes, which do credit to American scholarship, are an encouraging sign of the times. Prof. Knappen's *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries* anticipated us in one of many tasks envisaged, and now in his survey of Puritanism he has given us a sympathetic and informed study of great value which also will make superfluous other work we had planned. It is a delight to handle a book so scholarly and competent as Dr. Knappen's —wide and detailed in knowledge, sound in judgment, careful in the handling of material. The bibliography is exceptionally well done, and altogether the volume will prove very useful.

Of course, much wants more, and we cannot but wish that Dr. Knappen had begun not with Tyndale, but with the Cambridge men of the 1520's and an estimate of the survival of Lollard influence. Sometimes, too, he might have made fuller use of the publications of denominational historical Societies. Perhaps not enough significance is laid on the Marian period—on the Ashley episode at Frankfort, and on the experience of congregations in England during the persecution, when it was discovered in practice that much that had been deemed essential to worship was, after all, superfluous or merely accessory. At the end of the period, where he overlaps Prof. Haller, it is necessary to see the interaction of the political situation on the religious life of the community. Probably the outburst of national sentiment after the Armada resulted in impatience with dissidents and made possible the legislation which brought Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry to their deaths in 1593. Then, too, a switch of interest to (a) doctrinal, (b) sabbatarian matters coincided with the desire not to disturb national unity by controversies about Church government.

There are 101 points which we should like to discuss with Dr. Knappen, and occasionally we should join issue (does Grindal deserve the epithet "fumbling"?). One or two unimportant slips do not detract from a very fine achievement. We may be allowed to point out, however, that while honoured by the constant use of *The Seconde Parte of a Register,* the frequent inclusion of that work among the publications of the Parker Society wrongly dates us as flourishing in the middle of the 19th century!

Since they were published in 1934 Prof. Haller's *Tracts on Liberty* have been of much help to students. Now he lights up the *milieu* from which these tracts came in a volume which no student of the period can afford to neglect. His sub-title, "The Way to the New Jerusalem as set forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643", indicates the mine where he has been quarrying. His

pages dealing with the first twenty years are comparatively weak, which is perhaps a matter for selfish rejoicing in that here he has left something still to do, but those in which he examines the preaching of the Conformist Puritans are of supreme worth, for the influence of this "brotherhood" has been strangely neglected. Prof. Haller is perhaps less than fair to the Puritans who became Separatists, Independents, and Baptists, and too readily disposes of their works as "arid prolixities"; and denominational historians are unduly belittled. As he sees it, it was "the Puritan spirit as set in motion by the Puritan epic and the Puritan code . . . which in the long run chiefly mattered", and so he is concerned to show how the liberty to preach the Word claimed and exercised by men like Gouge and Perkins, Dod and Sibbes, prepared the way for freedom in a wider sense and had "an incalculable influence on the development of popular literary taste and expression".

> The Puritan pulpit might temporarily be stilled, but it had done its work, done it thoroughly and well. By popularizing the Bible and the Puritan epic of spiritual life, it had popularized an incomparable vocabulary for the expression of the people's discontent with the present and their hope for the future. In extending the range of its own popular appeal, it had fostered the press, and in giving such characters as Prynne a cause for playing the martyr, it had made the uses of publicity known to all. It had raised up such men as the two Goodwins and the other independents who were to prove the undoing of the dream of Presbyterian reform. It had opened the way to the irretrievable disruption of the church, to dissent and to the incipient democracy voiced by Lilburne. In Milton, finally, the cause of the Puritan preachers had enlisted a great literary genius, one who brought the idealism bred by the poetry and philosophy of Renaissance humanism to the support of Puritan revolutionary zeal in church and state. The performances of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton and of Lilburne, the dialectics of John Goodwin, and the appearance of *Lycidas* showed that revolution was ready to burst forth and that repressing preachers, cropping the ears of pamphleteers and church-outing idealistic poets could not stop it. Laud had but to give the occasion, and the upheaval would begin.

And the Presbyterians could not stop it when it did begin, hard as they tried in the Westminster Assembly.

The accessories of the volume—notes, bibliography, *etc.*—have all the marks of true scholarship, but it is the author's pregnant comments which will attract attention. To illustrate these sentences, *e.g.*, would be an excellent exercise for the Church historian:

> Orthodox Calvinism levelled all men under the law, made all equal in their title to grace, and then denied to most all prospect of realizing their hopes. It made the individual experience of God in the soul all-important, enormously stimulating individual spiritual experience, and then denied any freedom to the individual will.

Some research student might work out in detail the history of the Puritan Society for buying impropriations. Frequent references to unpublished theses in these two works help us to realize how much research is being done—and especially by young Americans. It will be a strange phenomenon if the religious history of our country is given its definitive form by American students.

EDITOR.

**Lloyd George, 1863-1914.** By W. Watkin Davies. Constable. 12s. 6d.
**The Life of James Ramsay MacDonald.** By Lord Elton. Collins. Vol. I. 18s.

Mr. Watkin Davies's account of the life of his famous fellow-countryman makes good reading, if at times it is unduly rhetorical. The early chapters, describing Mr. Lloyd George's youth and his rise to fame, are by far the best, and should stand as a faithful portrait of life in Nonconformist Wales in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To Mr. Watkin Davies Mr. Lloyd George began his downward career when Wales was submerged by wider claims; when Criccieth began to be boring there began

> a steady decline in moral fibre, of the undermining of the foundations of a fine political faith by the almost imperceptible erosion due to the flood of alien influences which obliterated the landmarks of his early and splendid idealism.

When Richard Lloyd was replaced by George Riddell, an evil genius, as guide, there came

> the break with the old steadfast loyalties, the habitual choosing of unworthy friends and colleagues, and the capricious opportunism, without settled policy or guiding principles, of the years 1918 to 1922.

Bountifully endowing him with gifts, though making him very egotistical, Mr. Lloyd George's fairy godmother withheld from him the capacity of making real friends—"a real friend he has probably never possessed".

It is a relief to turn from these judgments to the glowing accounts of the earlier Lloyd George, leader of the Nonconformist fight for freedom and the champion of the poor.

Lord Elton's first volume tells of another "Log Cabin to White House" Prime Minister who has also been under a cloud in recent years. It is rather remarkable that Mr. Lloyd George has never given to Ramsay MacDonald credit for his achievements. Lord Elton says:

> Under MacDonald's name in the Index to Mr. Lloyd George's *War Memoirs,* will be found, among others, none of which are complimentary, the following entries: *Persistently opposes every recruiting effort; devotes his energy to the weakening of the nation's morale; a possible Kerensky; stirs up sedition; summons the Leeds convention; thinks it better to be out of England when the Leeds resolutions are to be put into practice.* Every one of these statements appears to be demonstrably false.

Dissimilar in many respects, the two statesmen were alike in that there was something heroic about their early struggles. MacDonald was a fighter—many will be surprised at the revelation of his pugnacious instincts even in youth—and he fought hunger by tightening his belt, and saved pennies from food to buy books.

Once again we are made to wonder what manner of man he would have been had his wife lived. The influence of the family lives of Prime Ministers on their country's fortunes would make an interesting study: think of Mrs. Gladstone, Lady Campbell-Bannerman, Lady Oxford. Ramsay MacDonald was never the same man after his wife's death.

Readers of these pages know how MacDonald reacted to our own regrets that he ever forsook letters for politics. It is a regret which this biography and a re-reading of his memoir of his wife and of his *India* re-awakens.

Lord Elton gives a convincing picture of the MacDonald of the War

years. In suggestive phrases he lets light on MacDonald's character—his belief that "poverty nourishes the aristocratic virtues", for example, or his awareness that the supporters of the Labour movement "feel and do not think".

We look forward with eagerness to the second volume, and in time, when he has escaped the Chamberlainite obsession, to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's definitive biography.

EDITOR.

**Archæology and the New Testament.** By S. L. CAIGER. Cassell. 4s. 6d.

**On Roman Roads with St. Paul.** By R. MARTIN POPE. Epworth Press. 6s.

In a day when we are flooded with books great and small about the light thrown by recent and current archæological discoveries (*e.g.*, at Ur, Jericho, Lachish, and Ras Shamra) on the *O.T.*, it is useful to be reminded that the *N.T.* also has been illuminated by similar finds. Mr. Caiger, himself a recorder in the former field, has now turned to the latter, and in a handy volume has brought together a mass of information ranging from the True Cross and other alleged personal relics of Christ to the more authentic papyri. On the way he follows the footsteps of Jesus and of Paul in an endeavour to reconstruct the scenes as they saw them, and provides a chapter on "the evidence of the inscriptions". The chapters on Jerusalem and its holy places in the first century are especially full. In so convenient and welcome a book, one indicates defects with some reluctance. The sacred sites of Palestine and the places visited by Paul are arranged in alphabetical order; this dictionary method may have some advantages, but it is hardly in the latter case "to follow St. Paul step by step along the route of his journeys". We are not told the location of Masada (p. 95); and Antoninus Pius (p. 88), who died in 161, could hardly have ordered the erection of a synagogue about A.D. 200. Mr. Caiger seems to be still in the Mommsen-Ramsay age in the matter of Luke's reference to Quirinius; later study has shown that the evangelist does not emerge so triumphantly as he asserts, and Mr. Caiger does not refer to the difficulty of Judas and Theudas in *Acts* 5. The illustrations are useful.

Mr. Pope's book has much more of the open-air about it. He has had the advantage—apparently denied to Mr. Caiger—of having personally covered the ground. Here too there are a number of helpful plates and a map. The author begins with, and gives nearly all his space to, the apostle's second journey, but this method enables him to work in most of the towns of the first (the S. Galatian tour), and all that we really miss is Cyprus. The third and fourth journeys only occupy twenty pages, yet thanks to the writer's skill there is no sense of scrappiness. The qualities of learning, devout imagination, and happy phrasing which mark Mr. Pope's earlier works are to be found here in equal measure. The name "Asia" should be explained on its first appearance; it is hardly fair to speak of Montanism as the "first heresy" of the Christian Church; and on p. 96 something has gone wrong in the reference to "This group of letters".

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

**St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles.** By WILFRED L. KNOX, B.D. Cambridge Press. 15s.

This book with its abundant footnotes and quotations from Hellenistic and Classical writers provides a rich thesaurus of material for the advanced student of St. Paul's Epistles. Its very fullness of illustration may obscure for some readers its main position, and it may be well to state that in Mr. Knox's own words

The meeting between Paul and the philosophers of Athens on the Areopagus revealed the limitations of the apocalyptic version of Christianity which he had been content to accept from the Church of Palestine. The meeting was apparently an accident, the result of Paul's inability to keep silence in a city of such intense and misguided piety, and the publicity which the arrival of a new variety of teaching attracted in a city so given over to curiosity. Paul's speech began with the commonplaces by which Hellenistic Judaism sought to establish the unity of God; they were acceptable enough, for they were largely borrowed from conventional philosophy, though they were scarcely novel or interesting. But these commonplaces were quite inconsistent with the belief that the world could come to an end. An end of the world presented no difficulty to the followers of Epicurus; the world was the result of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, and there was no reason why the atoms should not at any moment fly asunder. But to the godless believers in atoms the rest of Paul's speech was merely a borrowing of fragments of the absurd theistic philosophies which they had long since rejected.

It is not surprising that Paul's attempt to convert the philosophers of Athens was a failure. The commonplaces by which Judaism sought to represent itself as the divine revelation of the truths at which philosophy had guessed, his appeal to the guidebook curiosity of altars to "Unknown Gods" and the commonplace-book quotation from Aratus were scarcely likely to impress an audience of such a character, still less to convert it to a belief that the world-process could be brought to an end by a divine assize, or to a system centred not on a semi-divine being who had been translated to the heavens in the dim remoteness of antiquity but to a man who had risen from the dead within the last few years. The Areopagus only laughed; Paul was faced with the necessity of reconstructing the Gospel, if he was to appeal to the intellect of the Gentile world.

That the scene in its essence is historical and that the speech contains in a Thucydidean form the kind of argument which Paul used on the occasion need not be doubted; it is an attempt to express the Gospel in the commonplace terms of Hellenistic Jewish philosophy, as Paul would naturally have learnt them. It is significant that from this point onwards his Epistles show a progressive adaptation of the Christian message to the general mental outlook of the Hellenistic world. There is no reason for doubting that he was first compelled to face the need of this re-statement by his chance meeting with serious philosophy on the Areopagus.

Having thus described "The Failure of Eschatology" Mr. Knox writes of "The Synagogue and the Gentiles" and of "The Divine Wisdom". The following chapter, "From Omega to Alpha", describes Paul's description of salvation in *Romans* and *Galatians*. In these letters his exegesis

does not pass beyond the capacities of the Jewish Messiah. The Messiah could be regarded as the "Son of God" in a sense which might seem to imply that He was a being of a celestial order.

The form might be Hellenistic; the faith was the Jewish faith in the Torah transferred to Jesus as the Lord who had conquered death on the stage of history.

But if Jesus was thus superior in the order of creation to the Torah, and if He were able, as the Torah was not, to deliver mankind from the power of the lords of the planetary spheres, it was difficult to avoid

the logical conclusion that He was superior to them in the order of space, a denizen by right of the sphere of the fixed stars, and prior to them in the order of time. Judaism might care little for logical conclusions, and Paul might be equally willing to ignore them. But he was the Apostle of the Gentiles: and the Greek world demanded a consistent scheme of thought; and if Paul was pressed to provide one, he could only do so by assigning to Jesus a position in the order of reality which could scarcely be made acceptable to the unitarian monotheism of Judaism.

It is of these "deeper mysteries" that Paul wrote to the Church of Corinth, and the teaching of the Epistles to the Corinthians is described in the chapters entitled "And the Rock was Christ" and "The Life of the World to Come". In these Epistles, as in the Roman, "Paul had been perfectly content with expositions of doctrine of a homiletic type". But, faced with the heresy at Colossae,

> Paul had to present Christianity in the light of a supreme cosmic revelation, without sacrificing its essential insistence on love as the one thing needed.
>
> The effect of the Colossian controversy, whether Paul realized it or not, was to substitute philosophy for homiletic as the basis of Christian preaching. The divine Wisdom, the pattern and agent of creation and the divine Mind permeating the cosmos, was identified with Jesus not as a matter of midrashic exposition which could be used and thrown aside, but as an eternal truth in the realm of metaphysics; for only so could the supremacy of Jesus be asserted as against such potent beings as the rulers of the stars in their courses. It is probable that Paul was entirely unaware that his letter would produce this effect: whether he realised it or not, he had committed the Church to the theology of Nicaea.

A brief chapter follows on "The Pauline Epilogue", *Philippians*; a longer on "The Ephesian Continuator", for Mr. Knox, for reasons which to the reviewer seem insufficient, holds that "it is scarcely possible to maintain the view that the Epistle to the Ephesians is a genuine Pauline document".

We are not convinced that Mr. Knox is right in his main thesis. Paul was one who could be "all things to all men", to the Jew a Jew, and to the Greek a Greek. But this is a book we have read with much interest and profit. In it many a familiar text receives new meaning, and, even where we remain unconvinced of the correctness of Mr. Knox's interpretations, we are grateful to him for making us ponder anew on Paul's meaning. This fresh, learned, and suggestive book is one of which all who lecture or write on St. Paul's Epistles will have to take account.

SYDNEY CAVE.

**Eastern Religions and Western Thought.** By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. Oxford Press. 15s.

**Buddhism.** By ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL. Lane. 6s.

**The Mahar Folk.** By A. ROBERTSON, M.A. Oxford Press. 4s. 6d.

So many of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's books have been reviewed in these pages that their characteristics will already be familiar to our readers. This last book of this great leader of Neo-Hinduism once more shows his singular breadth of learning, and his happy gift of lucid exposition. Sir S.

Radhakrishnan has learnt much from the West; he believes that the West has much to learn from the East.

> The supreme task of our generation is to give a soul to the growing world-consciousness, to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world soul, to transmit these loyalties and impulses to future generations and train them into world citizens. To this great work of creating a new pattern of living, some of the fundamental insights of Eastern religion, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, seem to be particularly relevant, and an attempt is made in these lectures to indicate them.

The book is a plea for mysticism, and especially Eastern Mysticism.

> As the religion of spirit, mysticism avoids the two extremes of dogmatic affirmation and dogmatic denial. All signs indicate that it is likely to be the religion of the future.

As the book contains lectures given on different occasions and for different purposes, there is naturally some repetition and some variation of emphasis. We found of special interest the two chapters dealing with "Christendom". We hope that some of the more reckless advocates of the *Form-Geschichte* school will take note of the impression made on this distinguished Indian scholar by their arguments. Thus he uses the concluding words of Dr. R. H. Lightfoot's *History and Interpretation of the Gospels* to illustrate that

> the school of criticism which has come to be known as that of *Form-Criticism* argues that the accounts of Jesus transmitted to us by the Evangelists are historically quite untrustworthy. They have been moulded by the devotional needs and spiritual experiences of the early Christian communities. They tell us more of the faith of the Church than of what Jesus actually said and did. We find in the Gospels not so much facts of history as the fancies of the devout.

This section concludes with quotations from those writers of the West who look to India for the satisfaction of their religious needs.

The next chapter, "Greece, Palestine, and India", reveals the writer's wide knowledge of the history of Western thought. In one case he seems to blunder, for in his descriptive account of Athanasius he quotes the "Athanasian" Creed as if it were a rescript of Athanasius's views. Not unnaturally Sir S. Radhakrishnan narrates at length the shameful story of the persecuting cruelty and the corruptions of the Christian Church. He sees in the teaching of Barth the recrudescence of the intolerance of Calvin. "The weakness", he writes,

> of these narrow orthodoxies is a spiritual cowardice, the failure to face realities. They are likely to destroy religion altogether. . . With all its ascetic and other-worldly emphasis, mysticism is more adequate to the facts of religious experience and social needs than Barthian theology.

In the final chapter of the book, "Order in Hinduism", Sir S. Radhakrishnan describes in glowing words the ideals of a Hinduism based on the mysticism of the *Upanishads* but freed from all the cruelties of the caste system.

At the Tambaram Conference no problem aroused deeper concern than the relation of Christianity to non-Christian religions. Those interested in that problem will do well to read this book. Once more, with all the powers of his subtle and richly informed mind, Sir S. Radhakrishnan bids us reject

any desire to get others to change their religion. Instead of conversion, let there be assimilation of ideals. The reviewer has dealt with this position in his recent Haskell Lectures, *Hinduism or Christianity? A Study in the Distinctiveness of the Christian Message,* and will not attempt an answer here. He differs radically from Sir S. Radhakrishnan, but we may learn much from those from whom we differ most. We hope this book will receive the careful study of Western theologians, and of missionaries to India. Here is presented that Neo-Hinduism which, for all its tolerance and its assimilation of Christian ethical ideals, is in fundamental opposition to the Christian estimate of the significance of Christ and His salvation.

*Buddhism, Its Doctrines and its Methods,* aims

> only at showing the reader the more essential or more striking points of the Buddhist theories and the methods of mental training which derive from them.

Many of its quotations from Buddhist literature are familiar to students of Buddhism, and all would have gained in usefulness had chapter and verse been indicated. Mme. David-Neel is herself a practising Buddhist and has lived for "long years" in Tibet. She is thus able to write from personal observation of the Buddhism of that mysterious land, and it is this which gives her book its distinctive interest and value.

*The Mahar Folk* is a welcome addition to the "Religious Life of India" series. Its author was for thirty-five years in Western India, and his account of the Mahars is obviously based on a knowledge only to be gained by many years of sympathetic service. It will naturally be most serviceable to those who live and work in those parts of Western India where the Mahars live. But those concerned with any section of the "Depressed Classes" will read with interest Mr. Robertson's descriptions of the history, economic status, domestic customs and religious rites of these "untouchables". In the West country is Pandharpur, where stands that shrine of Vithoba which inspired the fervent Psalms of those Maratha Saints of whom Tukaram was the best known. We found of special interest Mr. Robertson's account of those Mahar poets who, low-caste as they were, yet shared in that devotion to Vithoba.

Some of Mr. Robertson's translations of their poems are deeply moving, speaking as they do not only of devotion to Krishna-Vithoba but of their grief and shame at the contempt shown them because of their lowly caste by some of the priests of his temple.

SYDNEY CAVE.

**The Early Eucharist.** By FELIX R. CIRLOT. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

This treatise aims to do in English what has been done recently in both French and German, *viz.,* to investigate afresh the difficult problem of the stages by which the developed Christian rite arose out of the meal in the Upper Room. Special attention is given to the Jewish antecedents of the Eucharistic rite, which have come to the front in recent years. The general principle on which the book is written is one that will not very readily be accepted by all: it is that it is reasonable to interpret early and perhaps inconclusive evidence by the means of later developments: in other words, instead of putting the "lowest" construction on such evidence, we may quite rightly put a "higher" meaning upon it.

The book is immensely learned and goes into great detail; but in the end it results in the statement of a problem rather than in the clearing up

of the matter at issue. In spite of his general principle of reading as much as possible into the early evidence, the author seems to take a fairly simple view of the original Last Supper. It was a social meal of Jesus and His disciples, similar to many which had been held before: He said to them that He had hoped to have another passover with them, but this was impossible; so He must make this meal a substitute. In distributing the bread He used the unforgettable words, "This is my body given in sacrifice for you"; and in handing round the cup He spoke of it as His blood of the New Covenant. Henceforward whenever the disciples shared in similar social meals, they were to remember Him and His sacrifice; the next feast they would have together would be in the Kingdom of God.

All this sounds rather "Zwinglian"—no definite interpretation of our Lord's words is given, but a symbolic one is suggested; it is to be remembered, however, that symbolism in the first century meant more than it did in the sixteenth, and the way is left open for a "higher" interpretation of the rite. But it is clear that the author does not put any very "high" or realistic meaning upon the original words of Jesus; since he now goes on to state that the problem *par excellence* of Eucharistic origins is how the Apostle Paul came to interpret the Eucharist so realistically: he has no doubt whatever of the high sacramentarian and realistic character of the Eucharistic doctrine of St. Paul.

This realism of St. Paul, following upon the symbolism of Jesus and interpreting it in a metaphysical sense, constitutes a "staggering problem", one than which there is none more difficult in the whole range of the historical study of the New Testament. It is maintained that the problem really goes back behind St. Paul to the primitive Apostolic Church. It cannot be supposed that there was any difference in Eucharistic doctrine between St. Paul and the other Apostles; otherwise strong objection must have been taken to his views: none such appears in history. Nor can it be held that the new Eucharistic doctrine originated from the Hellenistic Christians before St. Paul: again the fact remains that Jerusalem never objected.

So the problem is left for further study and discussion. It must be admitted that it is a real problem. No unprejudiced person can fail to see a difference between Jesus and Paul, in this as in many other matters; and in the main the difference is not simply between Jesus and Paul, but also between Jesus and the Apostolic Church of which St. Paul is the outstanding representative. The fundamental question in Christian theology is whether Jesus is to be interpreted through Paul and the Apostles, or whether Paul and the Apostles are to be interpreted through Jesus, as we know His mind from the Synoptic Gospels—that means, whether Apostolic Christianity is to be regarded as the complete thing to which the teaching of Jesus is only the prelude; or whether, on the other hand, Jesus gave us the authentic interpretation of Himself and His works, certainly in the terminology of His own age; while the apostolic superstructure is a development still more accommodated to the ideas of the time, largely through the necessities of the external mission.

It should be mentioned that the early Fathers are brought into the discussion as well as the New Testament; also the *Agape* is discussed. Whatever we may think of the asserted principle that the apparently simpler is to be interpreted by later "higher" developments, the book is useful just because it sees the extreme difficulty of applying this principle to the interpretation of the original Last Supper, and so raises the fundamental problem of its subject in a very acute form.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

**Logic. The Theory of Enquiry.** By JOHN DEWEY. Allen & Unwin. 18s.

The name of Dewey is one of the most famous in American philosophy. It is some forty years since he produced his noteworthy *Studies in Logical Theory*. He has now put a crown on his work by the publication of the present book.

The negative or critical side of Dewey's doctrine is an attack on Aristotelian logic, both in its theory of deduction and induction. He will have nothing to say to a purely formal deductive logic, which is entirely independent of its content. The matter of thought is always equally important with its form. Thought develops a subject-matter into a logical form, as is evident in many different branches of knowledge. Logic accordingly is never merely formal, but is a doctrine of form-in-matter.

It may seem indeed as if mathematics constituted a disproof of this statement. It appears to consist in chains of thought of a purely formal character entirely independent of any matter of experience. But in reality this is not the case. The real end of every mathematical process is in some contact with experience. Mathematics is always an abstraction which has no real meaning till it comes down to earth in a contact with experience. The simple case of a problem involving the solution of an equation will illustrate this point.

Again, induction is not the simple discernment of qualities about which generalizations can be made, as the older logic supposed. It is something much deeper than this. In order to explain a series of given facts hypotheses are invented, and these are tested not only by observation but also by experiment. Only so does real induction take place. It goes back from the obvious qualities of things to a recondite theory which accounts for them. Aristotle explained the fall of an apple by a quality in heavy things making them tend to seek the centre of the earth; how different is Newton's explanation of the same original fact by the theory of gravitation!

Dewey has also his own theory of causality. The question of causality is teleological. What we always look for is means towards ends. Thus we proceed in reality from effects to causes: it is only after we have thus discovered the causes that we reverse the process and establish a general theory of causation, working from causes to effects.

The basic principle of Dewey's logical theory is what he calls inquiry, *viz.*, a determination of an indeterminate situation. He refers to the word "Pragmatism", with which school, founded by William James, Dewey's own philosophy was originally associated. He says that a great deal of misconception gathered about the word. But in the proper acceptation of the term the new work is thoroughly pragmatic. By "pragmatic" is meant the function of consequences as necessary tests of the validity of propositions, provided these consequences are operationally brought about and are such as to resolve the special problem evoking the operations.

There is no doubt that the new *Logic* of Dewey is a very important work. It combines originality of thought, close reasoning, and relatively simple style. Moreover, it powerfully represents that type of philosophy to which it belongs and which stands in such marked opposition to the traditional logic. Anyone who wants to understand the theory of logic as a method of inquiry cannot do better than study this work, which is conceived on the great scale and discusses all the problems of logic from its own point of view. The construction of judgments, the general theory of propositions, and the examination of terms and meanings, are all included, as well as the theory of valuation. In a word, the book is a

mine of information on the different parts of logical theory, as they are to be understood from its special point of view. ROBERT S. FRANKS.

**Christianity in Chains.** By E. G. LEE. Longmans. 6s.

The purpose of the author is to contrast Christianity, as he understands it, with the secular religions of Communism and Fascism. Both are mystical religions and stand on the belief that their peculiar ideals are of eternal value. Both also support themselves by interpreting history in their own way.

Christianity, if it is to compete with them, must similarly stand on the mystical element in it, and must offer an appropriate interpretation of history. The author has no doubt that true Christian mysticism is the sense of the Presence of God, which arises creatively in the soul in the hour of man's deepest need. He regards all Christ-mysticism as simply an esoteric religion which can make no general appeal. He will not even subscribe to the uniqueness of Christ—he takes a strictly humanitarian view of Jesus.

What he demands is a Christianity reduced to Theism, but mystical in character and providing an emotional basis for a true life. Christianity must be harmonized with the modern spirit, or it cannot survive. The characteristics of this spirit are:

(1) the belief in progress, which the author believes still to maintain itself in spite of all adverse circumstances;
(2) the modern approach to truth, as a disinterested apprehension of what really is;
(3) the stored knowledge of past ages, such as no previous age has possessed;
(4) our capacity to doubt, and so to question, all merely traditional patterns of life.

Mr. Lee believes that the pattern of orthodox Christianity, in spite of its ethical superiority to Communism and Fascism, cannot maintain itself in the modern world. It is too much a matter of use and custom, and too stale. The ethical patterns of the time vary—some overruling and overmastering principle must be found to harmonize them. This principle cannot be the Communistic idea of a social millennium, or the Fascist conception of a national State. It must be something greater: only the transcendent Reality of God can suffice.

Such is Mr. Lee's construction of a new Christianity; but it is so vague in its outlines that it is very doubtful whether it can have any success against such concrete powers as Communism and Fascism. The one concrete thing peculiar to Christianity, the special valuation of Jesus Christ, is rejected. There may be difficulties about construing this special valuation in modern terms; but it is this valuation that has always been the driving force of Christianity, and still is so. There is more hope of finding a synthesis of different ethical patterns through a reflection upon the ethic of Jesus and an attempt to develop it in new ways than there can be in a vague Theism, about which there is nothing at all definite.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

**Moses and Monotheism.** By SIGMUND FREUD. Hogarth Press. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Sigmund Freud is a psycho-analyst, and as such has made a valuable and permanent contribution to human knowledge. This, however, hardly entitles him to speak with authority on historical and archæological questions where even experts are inclined to walk warily. This was abundantly evidenced in one of his earlier volumes—*Totem and Tabu,* and is equally

obvious in his latest—*Moses and Monotheism*. It is true that Dr. Freud disarms criticism by the very tentative nature of his conclusions and by his constant warnings against the danger of relying too much on psychological probabilities. At the same time he has little or nothing else to offer.

The book falls into three parts. The first two deal with Moses and his work, and were published some time ago in a German periodical, *Imago*. The third part, which gives the psychological justification of his thesis, though written some years ago, now sees the light for the first time. Dr. Freud's main contention is that Moses was not a Jew but an Egyptian magnate in the time of Iknaton and a believer in the monotheistic Aton religion which this Pharaoh sought to introduce. After Iknaton's death and the failure of his reform movement, Moses, still devoted to the new faith, betook himself to the Hebrew slaves of Egypt to become their leader, taught them the Aton faith, and also introduced them to circumcision and imposed it upon them. Ultimately he led a section of them out of Egypt into Canaan. On this exodus he took with him a number of Egyptians to form his personal entourage, and these became the ancestors of the Levites. Dr. Freud adopts the suggestion of Sellin that Moses was in the end murdered by the Hebrews, who revolted from his religion and turned to the worship of Jahve, one of the gods of the land, a kind of thunder Baal. All this is offered us without a shred of real proof to support it. But it is worked out with a cleverness and plausibility which are sure to make their appeal, and the difficulty of reconciling it with the Bible narrative is very ingeniously met. Dr. Freud writes:

> Jahve was allowed to extend his reach to Egypt from his mountain in Midia, while the existence and activity of Moses were transferred to Qades and the country east of the Jordan. This is how he became one with the person who later established a religion, the son-in-law of the Midianite Jethro, the man to whom he lent his name Moses. We know nothing personal, however, about this other Moses, who is entirely obscured by the first Egyptian Moses.

The third section of the book deals with certain psychological probabilities which Dr. Freud offers in support of his theories as to Israel and monotheism. Briefly, just as a trauma in a young child may remain latent in the unconscious for years and come to a head at some such crisis as puberty, so the murder of Moses by Israel after a long period of latency brought about repentance and a desire for reform shown in the monotheism of the prophets. This was really a return to the Aton monotheism of the Egyptian Moses. The whole thing is a kind of neurosis on a big scale. So we read:

> Early trauma—Defence—Latency—Outbreak of the neurosis—Partial return of the repressed material: this was the formula we drew up for the development of a neurosis. Now I will invite the reader to take a step forward and assume that in the history of the human species something happened similar to the event in the life of the individual. That is to say, mankind as a whole passed through conflicts of a sexual-aggressive nature, which left permanent traces but which were for the most part warded off and forgotten; later, but after a long period of latency, they came to life again and created phenomena similar in structure and tendency to neurotic symptoms.

How this is worked out the reader must discover for himself. He will probably be impressed by the ingenuity of the argument, but that must not blind him to its lack both of logical coherence and historical justification.

W. B. Selbie.

**A Preface to Faith.** By Louis Arnaud Reid. Allen & Unwin. 6s.

Dr. Reid is a philosopher turned theologian. His aim in this book is to set forth a detached and objective, but altogether sympathetic, approach to the Christian religion. He writes as an outsider, but at the same time as one to whom the problem of religion is at once practical and personal. His whole outlook is eminently Christian, and he approaches his subject, not as many theologians do, from Jewish and pagan premisses, but from the strictly Christian standpoint of the revelation of the love of God in Christ. This pre-supposition dominates his attitude from first to last. He expounds it in clear and intelligible terms, and his book should prove extremely illuminating for the ordinary non-theological individual. His treatment of Christian dogma and of the Creeds will seem to some, no doubt, wholly destructive, but it has a positive and constructive aim throughout, and the net result of his discussions is anything but negative. All that he has to say about credulity, belief, and faith is of a wholly positive character and well worth consideration. His general attitude may well be summed up in his own words. Solid religion, he says,

> must grow out of the primary realities; it is belief not in a theory of God or hardly in a God of theory, but in God so far as the undoubted value and reality of the Person of Christ reveals it, and in so far as it is revealed in the lives of Christ-like persons and in other ways. This is not credulous but rational belief. It is a faith and a conviction which takes hold of the whole man.

W. B. Selbie.

**Spirit and Reality.** By Nicolas Berdyaev. Centenary Press. 8s. 6d.

In this book Berdyaev carries further his exposition of human nature as spiritual, and urges the necessity of a spiritual revival if mankind is to be saved from perishing. After a very subtle defence of the reality of spirit to which the whole experience of humanity bears witness, and a discussion of the various attributes of spirit in their historical manifestations, Berdyaev goes on to deal with the difficult problems of the objectification and symbolization of spirit. Spirit he regards as purely subjective, though it may objectify itself in the external historical world.

> In objectification there are no primary realities but only symbols. The objective spirit is merely a symbolism of spirit. Spirit is realistic, while culture and spiritual life are symbolical. In the object there is never any reality, but only a symbol of reality, the subject alone always has reality. Therefore, in objectification and in its product, the objective spirit, there can be no sacred reality, only its symbolism.

The argument here is somewhat obscure and rather detached from the main theme of the book. This theme, however, appears again very clearly in Berdyaev's discussion of asceticism and mysticism and of the problem of evil and suffering. He draws a distinction between asceticism as an end in itself and as a means to spiritual development. Egocentric asceticism is bound to disappear in favour of a new asceticism and a new spirituality which will involve an appearance of a new type of saint, "who will take upon himself the burden of the complex world". Mysticism Berdyaev describes as a transcendence of the created world. But it is not mere quietism. It witnesses to man's nostalgia for God, but also to God's need of man.

Berdyaev sums up his argument in a concluding chapter on The New Spirituality and the Realization of Spirit. Here his philosophy joins hands with his theology, and the result is a doctrine of the Holy Spirit based on

the assumption that spirit is power and that spirit alone is active in the universe. We cannot but be grateful for this bold and illuminating treatment of a subject which theologians too often are inclined to shirk. Berdyaev certainly throws new light on it, and, whether we agree with him or not, we cannot but respond to the challenge of his keen and original mind. The whole book is worth careful study as a positive and convincing answer to modern humanist materialism. Its writer is a prophet indeed.

W. B. SELBIE.

**The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe.** By MICHAEL OAKESHOTT. Cambridge Press. 10s. 6d.

**Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism.** By AMINTORE FANFANI. Sheed & Ward. 1s.

The first of these books is a useful and interesting compilation of texts, from original documents, illustrating the tenets of the five main schools of political thought in Europe—Democratic, Communist, National-Socialist, Fascist, and Catholic. It contains verbatim extracts from many writers and authoritative documents, *e.g.*, the Papal Encyclicals, the Manifesto of the Communist Party, *Mein Kampf*, the Fascist Decalogue, and articles by Mussolini, as from various writers upon the theory of Liberal Democracy. The book is of interest not only to students but also to anyone who is looking for an unprejudiced and objective exposition of the purposes and ideals of the principal schools of to-day. It has been compiled by Mr. Oakeshott at the suggestion of, and in consultation with, Professor Ernest Barker, who writes a Foreword. It is valuable as a book of reference and provides useful material for the student, and particularly for groups. Being written without any partisan intention it provides a needed corrective to false conceptions of theories with which we may be out of sympathy. A book to be kept on one's shelves.

It cannot be said that the second book is written with the same blameless intention. It is the work of the Lecturer in Economic History in the University of the Sacred Heart in Milan. It discusses historically the relations of Catholicism and Protestantism to Capitalism. The author defines Capitalism in terms of its spirit: it is the theory that man is at liberty to acquire personal wealth to whatever extent he is able, so long as he keeps within the limits of the law. He contrasts that theory with what he calls the "pre-capitalistic" attitude, which, inspired by Catholicism, held that, since man's chief end is to attain God, he, therefore, in his acquisition of wealth cannot allow himself to be occupied with the satisfaction of worldly desires nor make use of methods which may injure his own soul and his neighbour. But the Catholic writers and the Papal Encyclicals, while censuring the excesses of Capitalism, do not regard the acquisition of personal wealth, rightly used and come by, as ever unchristian. On the other hand, the Professor is inclined to regard Protestantism as responsible, perhaps unconsciously and unwillingly, for those excesses because of its insistence on freedom in religious belief and, consequently, in economic practice. Its repudiation of the interference of the State or of the Church or of any other authority with the liberty of the subject opened a door to unrestricted competition and to the oppression of the wage-earners. He seems to look for a return to the pre-capitalist conditions under which trade and finance were controlled by Church and State and thereby, in his view, Christianized. Protestants will not accept his conclusion, which is, in fact, forced and supported by little evidence and which seems to receive only a conventional support from the writer himself. But the book is erudite and

interesting historically and as the expression of a view unfamiliar in this country.

HAROLD B. SHEPHEARD.

**The Open Way.** By E. GRAHAM HOWE and L. LE MESURIER. Methuen. 8s. 6d.

This "Study in Acceptance" presents us with the fruits of those reflections upon life which Dr. Howe, the well-known Harley Street physician and psychologist, has already made available in his previous writings. His collaborator, Mrs. Le Mesurier, herself distinguished as a sociologist and economist, modestly claims, so far as this book is concerned, to be little more than her master's mouthpiece—or rather his pen. Brought first into contact with Dr. Howe as a patient, she remained his pupil, and rejoices in the opportunity to pass on to others ideas which she found so helpful in her own case. From her preface we learn that

> the dominating ideas of this book are, first, that we cannot be well unless we accept the whole of life: second, that we shall be ill and unbalanced if we try to live on one floor only of our psychic house, even if it is the highest floor: third, that it is only by the acceptance of love that any evil can ever, in fact, be changed. The key-notes of the book are balance and wholeness.

According to Dr. Howe, good health depends upon the harmonious and balanced co-operation of four psychological factors which he calls "bodies", a series reaching up from the physical, through the emotional and the mental, to the spiritual. The whole man is the all-round man, who is fully developed not only religiously and spiritually, but also in every other way made possible by his freedom and his special gifts.

> Walking in the way of Acceptance, which is the open way of faith and encompassing love, he will find healing and balance, for he will have become whole. He will not be afraid of life or of death. And he will be happy.

The essence of the teaching is the avoidance of fear, worry, and anxiety by the full and sincere acceptance of all the experiences of life—whether joyous or grievous. Mental and spiritual ill-health (and therefore physical as well) are caused mainly by rebellion. We must therefore cultivate an attitude of detachment.

> I am *not* my experiences, nor their bond-slave. I can choose what their effect on me shall be, whether for harassed misery and illness by struggle and refusal, or for growth towards wisdom and health and balance by a true acceptance.

Acceptance, however, does not mean acquiescence. It must be of such sort as to make us not less but more sensitive to wrong and iniquity. The point is that evil can never be altered by violence, but only by love. Acceptance means willingness to look steadily both at the good and the evil within us, not denying either and not excusing or justifying the evil—still less seeking to repress it and to forget it. Repentance for sin, and not forgetting, is the way of health and happiness. But we cannot repent for our sin until it is truly accepted and acknowledged. Thus sin is to be accepted, not in the sense of clinging to it and making it permanent, but in the sense of something that is to be conquered by love.

> If we ask how we may go through the world safely, it is by being undefended against any part of our experience, and accepting humbly the truth of our conditions . . . Our fate is in the facts which condition us, but still we may retain our freedom. For our destiny

> is not the same thing as fate, and it is free. There are many sorts of victory, and sometimes the only one that is possible for us is the victory that comes of defeat accepted. That is not a mean victory and it is not an easy one.

All this is very true—and very courageous.

Dr. Howe has Congregational connexions, but has moved away from orthodox Christianity. It is evident that he owes much to Indian thought, especially in regard to the doctrines of reincarnation and karma and to the ethical principle of non-attachment. The doctrine of correspondences seems to suggest the influence of Swedenborg. A large place is given to symbolism, and stress is laid upon the hidden meaning contained in all great spiritual teaching and handed down through the ages by the enlightened few. Nevertheless, there is much that is genuinely Christian in the book, which charms by its catholicity of spirit and its rich ethical and spiritual insight. Dr. Howe and Mrs. Le Mesurier are sympathetic observers of life. Not only have they garnered much wisdom, but they know how to express it finely and nobly.

The last sentence on page 34 seems to have gone wrong somehow. Its meaning is not at all clear.

E. J. Price.

**Our Gospel or His?** By B. C. Plowright, B.A., B.D. Clarke. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Plowright has long been known as one of the best-informed and most vigorous thinkers in the ranks of the Congregational ministry. He combines a fearless modernism with a passionate evangelism which enables him to speak effectively to the condition of our contemporary world. He is making great strides as a writer, and this latest book of his will add to his reputation.

Mr. Plowright sets out to show that the Church is failing to win and to hold the modern mind precisely because it has overlooked elements of supreme importance in the teaching of Jesus, and that the renewal of Christian life to-day depends upon the recovery of the fullness of the Gospel. Beginning with an acute and discriminating analysis of the mind of the common man to-day in his bewilderment about himself, his world, and his duty, he goes on, with scrupulous fairness, to disclose the inner causes of the Church's weakness. He puts his case strongly, and sometimes even bluntly, but always with sympathy and understanding. While recognizing that the Gospel has its individual reference and is mightily concerned with sin, he declares that

> the Churches cannot make it too explicit to their own minds that an evangelism which does not deal radically with the problem of fear as well as with the problem of sin, and with the evil of society as well as with the evil in the individual is doomed from the start.

He urges that when Jesus speaks of "faith" he is never thinking solely of a guilt-situation, but has in mind all situations which thwart and distort men's lives and in which fear is a predominant element.

Mr. Plowright does not allow for the fact that for Jesus the fear-situation and the guilt-situation are inseparably connected. It is a matter of emphasis, but Mr. Plowright is right in insisting upon the need for deliverance from fear. In like manner he urges that Jesus gathered His disciples together into a community which was to make manifest to the world in its own life the working of the laws of the Kingdom. What Christ gives supremely is mastery—power to overcome every fear as well as every sin, while in the fellowship of the Kingdom God gives Himself

in power not only to the obedient and faithful individual but also to the obedient and faithful community.

> The world needs what Christ can and does offer, an interpretation of life which means that we may hope for the coming of the righteous social order, an ethical ideal which is universal in its application, and the moral dynamic to achieve that ideal.

In such days as these the Church cannot evade its responsibility to furnish the Christian business man and the politician with much clearer guidance than it has been ready to give in the past. In particular there must be a clearer witness in regard to war, and here Mr. Plowright presents the case for pacifism with persuasive moderation.

Mr. Plowright is confident that a spiritual awakening is close at hand—provided the Church recognizes its opportunity in the bewilderments and frustrations of our time, and seeks not its own "popularity" but the full realization of the will of God in individual and corporate life.

We heartily commend this book for its clarity and its sobriety. Ministers especially will find much suggestive material in it. We note misprints on pages 24 and 112.

E. J. Price.

**What did they teach?** Blackie. 5s. each.

This new series of little books is designed to set forth without criticism or advocacy what those few great figures taught who have supremely influenced mankind. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth writes on Mohammed and Dr. W. R. Matthews on Christ. The former gives us a clear account of the life and teaching of the Prophet unembarrassed by too heavy a burden of detail and yet omitting no essentials. The profound scholarship of the author makes the narrative reliable and authoritative. A valuable chapter is devoted to eschatology, epitomizing the teaching on the Day of Judgment, the Resurrection of the body, eternal punishment and, for the saved, "an everlasting tavern with an everlasting brothel". From the impartial study of the ethics of Islam here given some frequent prejudices should be corrected.

Dr. Matthews sets out to instruct us in the same objective way in what Christ taught, but doubts his ability entirely to avoid personal predilection. And, indeed, to read in succession the two books is to be impressed by the difference from the point of view of personal attraction of the two Masters. Here with full critical knowledge and a most prudent focussing of essentials the great ideas of the Gospel are set forth. The theme is what Christ actually taught, not its application or relevance to our times. In a final chapter, however, on Jesus and human society, this relevance is briefly examined. The teaching, claimed at different times in support of every kind of government, has, in fact, no political or sociological guidance. Its steady emphasis is upon the supreme value of the individual and upon the necessity of freedom:

> all laws and regulations which depend upon the sanction of force are temporary accommodations to the imperfection of humanity.

A slip on p. 87 but little impairs the worth of this excellent summary.

D. W. Langridge.

## SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST.

*(Books marked * are recommended for ministerial reading.)*

How are the problems of religion and of life to be affected by scientific discovery? In *The Rediscovery of Man* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) Dr. H. C. Link reports recent brain operations in America, in which, by destroying the

tissue in the frontal lobes—the higher nerve centres, the lower lobes have been made to function more effectively and patients been relieved of worries, delusions, insomnia, *etc.* The permanency of the results remains to be tested, but what with glands, injections (insulin is said to have been successful in schizophrenia and mild epilepsy), and surgery the possibilities seem unlimited. Dr. Link's book will be welcome by all who found *The Return to Religion* helpful. He considers "personality research" (it is unfortunate that the term "psychical research" has come to have a definite connotation which limits it to one field only) even more important than cancer research, and here, even if the American systematization with its "I.Q.'s" and "P.Q.'s" and "A.S.'s" often amuses, his general attitude is so reasonable that a perusal of his pages will help doctors and ministers as well as students of psychology. The chapter on the Church is perhaps unexpected: the Church's appeal for spiritual awakening has been undermined by its tendency to interpret morality more liberally. People who are eager to accept a more spiritual interpretation of the universe

> cannot accept the moral ambiguities of the Church as the equivalent of spiritual values, nor her liberal uncertainties as the verities of religion.

Apparently the authority with which the Church is to speak must be based on the Ten Commandments, which were accepted by Jesus, although He was "the greatest liberal of all time."

Two more volumes appear in Mr. R. Ellis Roberts's rather bizarre "I Believe" series (Heinemann, 5s. each). Christians throughout the world will no doubt be greatly heartened by Mrs. Naomi Mitchison's assurance:

> To my mind, the essential Christian doctrines are thoroughly reasonable. The Kingdom of Heaven is the only reasonable kind of human society, just as it is the only moral one; in it people are not afraid of one another, are turned towards life and not towards death.

Nevertheless there is nothing in *The Kingdom of Heaven* to make anyone regard Mrs. Mitchison as an authority on religion, the New Testament, or the history of the Church: any value the book possesses is that of an ingenious mind playing round an important subject. It is a pity that Miss Barbara Lucas has had to fit *And Was Crucified* into the framework of a series. At first we were inclined to regard it as a catena of unusual quotations; then we were struck by some of the cameos and vignettes which illustrate the argument; and finally we felt Miss Lucas had something to say if only she had room to say it, and that we must keep an eye open for her next book.

Laid aside for six weeks Sir Francis Younghusband meditated on his long experience, and in *The Sum of Things* (Murray, 7s. 6d.) he has given us what he calls "the cream." His main object in life has been

> the infusing of mankind with more religion, with a higher, deeper, broader and altogether more effective religion than any now prevalent,

and the book describes the various steps he has taken in pursuit of it, leading up to the World Congress of Faiths. The exaltation of mysticism and the findings of science are discussed, and then there emerges, perhaps on some distant star, a world-leader, "the supreme embodiment of the Spirit of the World". The human race has millions of years before it, and if men "enter into the spirit of things they will find happiness for themselves and joy for the world".

There is more bite in some of the papers in the Rev. W. H. Elliott's *Do Be Practical* (Nicholson & Watson, 2s. 6d.) than we have noticed in previous addresses. This may be due in part to the fact that much of the volume is

concerned with the League of Prayer and Service, but also to the eclipse (welcome if only partial) of sentiment by life as it really is. A talk like "Would *This* Annoy *You*?" brings the hearer to earth, and makes him face a definite problem.

Dr. F. W. Boreham, always apt in his titles, gives his new book, which appears three years after his leave-taking volume, the title *I Forgot to Say* (Epworth Press, 5s.). There is no need to describe again Dr. Boreham's method : it almost looks, by the way, as if he had not seen the proofs, for we have *Joseph* Brierley and John Owens as well as a misprint on p. 49. We wonder what students of the mysteries of the human mind will make of the series of coincidences in Chapter IX.

In the early days of ministerial life we used to read every year for our soul's good and for the work's sake Richard Baxter's *Reformed Pastor* and John Watson's *The Cure of Souls*. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that we saw that the Rev. J. T. Wilkinson was preparing a new edition of **Gildas Salvianus: The Reformed Pastor* (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.), and the satisfaction was multiplied when we read his tribute to F. J. Powicke as the inspirer of the work. We hope the reprint will be widely read, together with the informing Introduction, which shows the influence of the book during the years.

Having read Mr. Frank Dodd's *An Introduction to the Study of Christianity* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) and his explanation of his purpose in writing it, we find ourselves still at a loss to discover either his aim or his own viewpoint. So far as we can gather from a book which has many suggestive pages its author desires those who cannot accept the traditional interpretation of the New Testament to be assured that the Gospels and Epistles do not give clear and exact information about the nature and personality of Jesus, but that they do give instruction about His method; it is this the disciple is called upon to follow; taking up his cross, he will be assured of God's Fatherhood and God's leadership. Mr. Dodd seems to have a special interest in Roman Catholicism, and he has a way of introducing hymns to clinch an argument.

In another part of this issue we have spoken of the high standard of the contributions to learning now being made by American scholars. This commendation is most certainly deserved by two works now before us, Prof. K. S. Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 18s. each), and Mr. James Truslow Adams's *Building the British Empire* (Scribners, 15s.). Professor Latourette's *magnum opus* is to contain six volumes : the first two deal with *The First Five Centuries* and *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty* (500-1500). There will be opportunity later to assess the immense service which this work will render; already there is abundant proof that it deserves the praise of the Dean of St. Paul's for combining "the objectivity of the historian with the value-judgments of a believing Christian" (the blurb makes a shocking mistake in making this into "valued judgments", and there is an unfortunate "Corpernicus" on p. xiii). Dr. Latourette sets out to answer seven crucial questions :

1. What was the Christianity which spread?
2. Why did Christianity spread?
3. Why has Christianity suffered reverses, and at times met only partial successes?
4. By what processes and methods did Christianity spread?
5. What effect has Christianity had on its environment?
6. What has been the effect of environment on Christianity?

7. What bearing do the processes by which Christianity spread have on its environment, and environment on Christianity? How far may mediæval and modern Europe be ascribed to Christian doctrine and methods?

His style is readable, his documentation ample, his bibliography full and serviceable. What more can a student require?

Britishers would be well advised to read Mr. Adams's account of the building of the Empire, if only to see themselves as an American sees them. And, indeed, it is long since we read so fine an essay as that on the British which forms Mr. Adams's Introduction: it shows an insight into the British character which is only possible to one who has been both part of its *milieu* and also sufficiently apart from it to get a right perspective. Let the reader ponder on the four forces which Mr. Adams says have moulded British traits—religion, sport, the ideal of the gentleman, and "snobbishness"—and he will realize their peculiar aptness, and perhaps national pride will lead him to add the saying, which Mr. Adams quotes *via* Santayana, "One Englishman, a fool; two Englishmen, a football match; three Englishmen, the British Empire." The Introduction is perhaps the best part of the book; certainly the weakest pages are those which deal with ecclesiastical affairs, where Mr. Adams's step is not always sure. In this volume Mr. Adams traces the story of the British Empire down to the time when the folly of a British King and politicians led to the breaking away of one great branch of the English-speaking people.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Eric Linklater has turned his gifts of narrative and invective to the week of the Passion. It is not so much that *Judas* (Cape, 6s.) gives a modern turn to the events of the week—the Sanhedrin talk of taking Jesus into "protective custody" and so forth—but that the "bastards" and "bloody's" with which the pages are sprinkled become as offensive as they are superfluous. Judas here is a pathological pacifist who betrays Jesus to save Jerusalem from the horrors of war.

As a book to use rather than a book to read, Dr. Charles Sturge's *Cuthbert Tunstal* (Longmans, 21s.) is first-rate: its chronological table, bibliography, notes, appendixes, and indexes are all that they should be. Not that Dr. Sturge is unreadable: the short chapter on that attractive figure, Bernard Gilpin, is evidence to the contrary. Tunstal himself was almost too colourless to be attractive; he was a moderate and a conservative, and not the stuff of which martyrs are made. He ran for safety during the Pilgrimage of Grace and accommodated his views to the King's wishes; in an age which contained More and Fisher as well as Tyndale and Latimer, his timidity is unduly conspicuous. Tunstal had a long life (1474-1559); he was lawyer and legate, statesman and churchman, and thirty-seven years a bishop; he lived through some of the most important changes his country had known. It is good, therefore, to have a biography so competent and thorough as that Dr. Sturge has given us.

In *Oliver Cromwell's Latter End* (Chapman & Hall, 2s. 6d.), Mr. F. J. Varley concludes from an examination of the evidence that Cromwell was not buried in Westminster Abbey, and that the bodies hanged at Tyburn were not those of Cromwell and Ireton at all. Cromwell, he holds, was buried secretly shortly after his death. Mr. Varley does not seem sure of his geography; how does one get "from Essex to Epping"?

Miss Muriel Wellesley's *Wellington in Civil Life* (Constable, 18s.), like her previous volume, pictures "The Iron Duke" "through the eyes of those who knew him." Excellent illustrations help to make a successful book, the Duke's character standing out clearly through the mists of his great-

grand-niece's moralizing and hero-worship. Sometimes time has made the moralizing amusing, as in the reference to Victoria's descendants on p. 36, or the description of Cobden as "a pacifist of the most dangerous kind"; sometimes it is bewildering (what are "religious bodies of all denominations, whether Christian or Pagan"?). Something has gone wrong with Metternich's French on p. 336, and on p. 51 a strange misprint makes Lady Jersey Leader of the House of Commons instead of Peel. But, even if the Duke's moral lapses are gilded over, he is seen as the brave, honest, simple soul he was, who deceived no man and wholly gave himself to the service of his country.

In her readable biography, *Madame de Stael* (Longmans, 10s. 6d.), Miss Margaret Goldsmith amply justifies her sub-title, "Portrait of a Liberal in a Revolutionary Age." Whether one's interest is in Germaine as a person or in Madame as politician and author, Miss Goldsmith's study of a remarkable woman will be found alive and suggestive.

Although it is solid history, Mr. Jesse Myers's *Baron Ward and the Dukes of Parma* (Longmans, 8s. 6d.) reads in places like a mixture of comic opera and *The Prisoner of Zenda*. Thomas Ward, a Yorkshire boy whose schooling ceased at the age of nine, after being jockey, groom and valet, became the Chief Minister of the Duke of Lucca and Parma. With his Yorkshire shrewdness and an eye to the main chance, Ward must have been irritated beyond endurance by the inept Charles Louis, who, on entering into Parma, wrote, "I feel terrible, and do nothing but weep," and by his irresponsible and dissolute son, Charles III. His rise began when the Duke heard him say at an inspection of the stables, "We would not stand this sort of thing in Yorkshire"; he declares he never found an Italian worthy of confidence and other than a false friend, but he "made tools of them all." Ward died in 1858 in his 49th year, worn out by loyal service to weak rulers; there is no sign in his letters of sympathy with Italian aspirations for unity.

We found it difficult to lay down Mr. Seton Dearden's competent and well-written study of George Borrow, *The Gypsy Gentleman* (Barker, 12s. 6d.). Mr. Dearden is sufficiently acquainted with psychology to find an explanation for Borrow's "horrors" and his touching and persecution manias, but psychology is his servant and not his master. Whether dealing with Borrow's youth, his wanderings in Spain or elsewhere, or with the cantankerous old gentleman whom publisher and friends found so difficult, Mr. Dearden never falters, and he is to be congratulated on a really fine piece of work which should stand the test of time.

*Sir James Cantlie* (Murray, 10s. 6d.), by his son and Mr. George Seaver, is the story not only of a great doctor, but of his adoring and helpful wife. James Cantlie was a Scot who touched life at many points. Had he been satisfied with his profession, strictly regarded, he might have made contributions to knowledge of an unusual kind. His ever-active mind and his ceaseless energy led him into the spheres where medicine and social life overlap; so he came to be the founder of the organizations which became the R.A.M.C., the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine, and others. The College of Ambulance which he established—a dream come true—did splendid work during the war, and might have lived on had Cantlie been a better business man. His years in Hong Kong gave him first-hand knowledge of the East, and the pages dealing with Sun-Yat-Sen, one of his pupils, are among the most fascinating in the volume. Sir Arthur Keith's long Introduction reminds us of a chairman full of his lecturer's subject.

We have not yet been able to discover why it is that Miss Muriel Lester's autobiography *It Occurred to Me* (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) has left us dissatisfied. Unexpectedly so, for we have great admiration for the author's work in the East End of London, and generally share her views. It is not, we think, the misprints (pp. 56, 79, 176, 198, 229) or the vagaries of style ("the assembled youth, their faces, as well as his, illumined with inspiration, perspiration, and devotion, all gracefully manipulating a fan"), but rather, we think, the impression that some pacifists and Groupers give that they consider the religion of other Christians something inferior, that if only Christians would become really Christians—*i.e.*, pacifists or Groupers—the world would "get a move on". Miss Lester's eagerness to confess our national sins at every possible moment perhaps helps to sharpen this impression, which we have tried in vain to escape. The book is very readable, the account of the Kingsley Hall and Children's House adventures being moving indeed and the description of Miss Lester's travels in America, India, China, and Japan full of stimulus. And, after all, if the lives of Christians were marked by the same readiness to sacrifice there is no doubt the world would be a better place.

*Margaret Sanger* (Gollancz, 16s.) is the autobiography of the American pioneer social reformer, whose courage and persistence entitle her to the encomiums Mrs. Pearl Buck and others shower upon her. Here she tells of her childhood, of the beginning of her fight for birth control in the United States, and of her advocacy of the movement in all parts of the world. To some her visits to China, India, and Japan will be specially attractive, but we think more can be got out of her frank impressions of modern Russia. Mrs. Sanger has, of course, the lack of balance which often goes with intense enthusiasm for a cause, but we are more disturbed by inaccuracies in her references to matters English which make us wonder if they are typical of the whole volume. Lancashire girls she found in Glasgow in 1915 "practically all had been apprenticed to the mills at the age of 8 or 9". In Oxford after lunching at the Mitre she had "a walk through Brazenose and King's" (!), and her references to Lord Buckmaster and other titled persons are weird and wonderful. Finally, when "King's Physician asks Church to sanction Birth Control" (headlines on Lord Dawson's speech to the Church Congress),

> the deduction was that His Majesty was endorsing it, and stolid Britishers were all agog at the idea that Buckingham Palace was now talking about the subject; it was fiinted Queen Mary was not overpleased.

Do readers remember being "all agog"?

Fourteen of the seventeen of Miss Lilian E. Cox's *Saints without Haloes* (S.C.M., 2s. 6d.) date from the 18th century to the 20th. They will be useful for Junior and Intermediate Departments.

India and Hinduism have had no more devoted servant and no more stalwart champion than Mr. C. F. Andrews. In *The True India* (Allen & Unwin, 6s.) he leaps to India's defence against Miss Katharine Mayo and other authors who have presented to the world a picture of India and Indian morals which he considers not only "shallow and contemptuous" but cruel and untrue. We are quite ready to offer that "deep reverence for Indian civilization as a whole" which Mr. Andrews desires, yet we must confess that Miss Mayo's writings did not appear to us as they did to Mr. Andrews: they are sensational, and at times nauseating, but we found in them neither imperialism nor a contempt for India, but rather passionate revolt at cruelty resulting from neglect and superstition and that "lack of moral fibre" which

Mr. Andrews himself is compelled to admit. When he ceases to be obsessed by Miss Mayo Mr. Andrews is much more convincing and constructive. Here are millions desperately poor, a rapidly increasing population, with early marriages and a "joint family" system which tend to increase fecundity. There is the problem for India, and Mr. Andrews's scant reference to contraception is scarcely sufficient in face of such a critical situation.

Mr. Andrews's admiration for Mahatma Gandhi is shared by many in this country whose attitude to Rabindranath Tagore is more restrained. Tagore seems to accept so easily the adulation offered to him that we must needs pause. Mr. Andrews writes a foreword to Prof. V. Lesny's *Rabindranath Tagore* (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.), now translated from the Czech. Tagore's writings during a long life are analysed and we see him as

> the author of melodious verse, the dramatist, the novelist, the teller of delightful tales, and writer of philosophical essays . . . the apostle of enlightened humanity and ardent prophet of world unity.

Prof. Lesny is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has interpreted the Indian scholar. Not the least informing of his pages are those which compare him with Czech writers.

Miss Ela Sen's *Testament of India* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) gives character sketches of the leading figures in Indian life in recent years—Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tagore, Subhas Bose, Jinnah, Mrs. Naidu, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Malaviya, Prasad. There follow chapters on "The Younger Socialists", "Terrorism", "Communalism", "Women's Movements", and "The Peasant Movement". While written from a definite angle, the volume is useful to English readers in revealing the personalities of those who have played, and are destined to play, a leading part in Indian history.

Dr. Ray E. Phillips has followed up *The Bantu are Coming* by *The Bantu in the City* (Livingstone Press, 10s.), which he calls "A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand". All interested in missionary work and in social and racial problems should follow Dr. Phillips's investigations, which are enriched by a full bibliography and many appendixes. The chapters on "Religion" and "Inter-racial Relationships" are both searching and revealing, and the final chapter of conclusions leads up to six pages of Recommendations. Once more it is made clear that the example of the white man is of tremendous importance for good or evil.

**Education for Christian Marriage* (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.) is a good book, though not so entirely good as the Editor's (the Rev. A. S. Nash) opening chapter led us to hope. All Mr. Nash's own contributions are sound and useful, but in a volume with many contributors it is inevitable that some fall short. Some of the chapters—*e.g.*, that by Dr. Dodd and the Rev. Alan Richardson on "Marriage and the Family in the New Testament"—show that the Editor has included much background. Canon Pym and the Rev. D. R. Mace discuss "Education of Individual Couples"; both have wise things to say, though we think the Methodist is to be preferred to the Anglican, who is very confident he knows how to give instruction: in practice we have found it wise to stress points neither includes; it is doubtful, too, whether many Free Church ministers, except with young men they know very well, would start with the mention of the sex-act and immediately ask "Have you ever done it?" as does Canon Pym. There is an admirable synopsis of a lecture course by Dr. Herbert Gray, in which we are glad to see the *N.B.*: "Need to say something constructive to unmarried women in the audience after speaking of the glories of marriage".

What a pity it is that the "anti's" are often so unreasonable that they alienate the sympathy they wish to win. In *The Mind-Changers* (Joseph, 8s. 6d.) Miss E. Douglas Hume tells of the work of anti-vaccinators, anti-vivisectors, and the like, with a violence ("Vaccination seemed deservedly to bear the guilt of, at any rate, part of the huge increase in cancer") which will cause many she might have convinced to cease reading her pages.

In *Inasmuch . . .* (S.C.M., 2s.) Mr. Sidney Dark with practised pen describes the work of the Probation Officer and Police Court Missioner, the material with which they have to deal, and the social conditions which produce that material. Think what is behind the boy's reply to the question: "What do you do when your mother and father come home drunk and fight?" "I make a grab for the fish and chips." Mr. Dark's warning that the Probation Officers to be appointed by the State must have a sense of vocation should be borne in mind.

In Mr. Michael Stewart's *The British Approach to Politics* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) and Prof. H. J. Laski's *Parliamentary Government in England* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) we have volumes on English constitutional history alike in their usefulness, but very different in their style. Mr. Stewart gives us a note-book for reference; dividing the subject into "The Government", "Parliament and People", "The Judicature", "Local Government", "Beyond the United Kingdom", he provides for students the relevant facts, objectively stated. Prof. Laski's division is "The Party System", "The House of Lords", "The House of Commons", "The Cabinet", "The Civil Service", "Parliament and the Judiciary", "The Monarchy". His is a book rather than a handbook, extremely readable, and with enough of the subjective element to make it rather spicy. Students of the subject are fortunate in having these two volumes at their service.

Don Luigo Sturzo's pertinent "essays in Christian democracy", **Politics and Morality* (Burns, Oates, 7s. 6d.), deserve attention not merely for the contribution they make both to the study of political theory and of current political problems, but also because of the position of the writer. One of the first organizers of Catholic Action in Italy, Don Sturzo became Leader of the Popular Party, and sought exile when it was suppressed. The essays are valuable as the conclusions of an intelligent Roman Catholic of wide political experience on such problems as "The Ethics of Political Collaboration", "The Citizen's Rights in Time of War", "The Right to Rebel". The paper, "The Totalitarian State", contains a succinct survey of political theory, while "Oppressed Peoples" discusses the question of mandates and colonies.

Those who read Major F. Yeats-Brown in the *Observer* will know what to expect in *European Jungle* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 10s. 6d.)—thoroughly one-eyed and extravagant comment on international affairs. The "Bengal Lancer" is strongly pro-Franco, defends "Guernica", and even does not believe that the Nazis were responsible for the Reichstag fire. He "sees Red" everywhere, and in this at any rate is consistent: in Britain as in every part of Europe the poison of Communism is to be found. The lack of objectivity is so obvious that it would not matter were it not that Major Yeats-Brown has obtained a public, some of whom may think he is an historian or impartial commentator. Let us quote an example of his method. In his famous testament of 1923 Lenin desires to replace Stalin as Secretary-General by someone

> more patient, more loyal, more polite, more attentive to comrades, less fanatical.

Six lines later we are told that Lenin's verdict on Stalin is

> Impatient, disloyal, rude, absolutely unsuitable for a position of higher command.

It is rarely that even a partisan journalist gives himself away so completely.

Mr. Douglas Reed proved himself so true a prophet in *Insanity Fair* that his *Disgrace Abounding* (Cape, 10s. 6d.) is hair-raising indeed. For many years the correspondent of *The Times* in Central Europe, Mr. Reed speaks with an authority which makes his predictions all the more disturbing. The events of March, 1939, are foretold with accuracy in this book written some months before; Mr. Reed now tells us not only that Hitler will march to the East and the Adriatic, but that he will be so strong, and British policy so vacillating, that we shall be obliged to hand over anything he demands in the way of Colonies. Mr. Reed has some well-deserved criticisms to offer on the Munich policy: the ignorance and blindness of Mr. Chamberlain was indeed astounding: he has "deplored" this and deplored that while democracy has been sabotaged.

It is good to read a book marked by passion as well as knowledge, though we wish it had been pruned of some repetition and flamboyance. It seems to make out its case that British policy is governed by class-antagonism, by those who cherish their property above all, and also that international Jewry has managed to secure far better treatment for Jewish refugees than those persecuted purely on political grounds have received. And so

> We neither have our brave new England nor our brave new world. We have an England more class-ridden and with more slums than ever. We have a world again at the mercy of military adventurers. We have governments that tell us they stand for the old ideals, but in moments of crisis they always betray these ideals. They tell us for years that we have nothing to fear when mortal danger is approaching our door.
>
> For what are we to live, for what to die? We have been sold and betrayed.

Diplomatists with daughters must shiver in their shoes as they read Miss Martha Dodd's *My Years in Germany* (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.), the work of the daughter of the American Ambassador to Berlin from 1933 to 1937. The book is written—and not well written—"in passion and in hope"; it describes with appalling frankness, not only the leaders of Nazi Germany, but also members of the Diplomatic Corps and their wives—their personal affairs and habits—and at times it becomes almost hysterical. Miss Dodd went to Germany sympathetically inclined to the Nazi *régime*; she grew to hate it as much as her father did, but with less restraint. Perhaps her most striking pages are those which describe the system of espionage, which overlooks no place, and certainly not an Embassy. *The Times* does not come well out of its treatment of its correspondent, Mr. Norman Ebbutt, and even if we discount considerably Miss Dodd's opinion of Sir Neville Henderson, our disquiet is none the less.

Mr. Chamberlain and others who read *Mein Kampf*, now published in an unexpurgated translation (Hurst & Blackett, 8s. 6d.), for the first time will not feel disposed to ridicule Adolf Hitler. True, its theories of Blood and Race are fantastic, and the Jews are a King Charles's head: but there is much sound commonsense, and an intensity of conviction that makes one tremble when one thinks of the power the writer wields. Especially noteworthy is Hitler's belief in "the magic power of the spoken word" and in

> a peace [based not] upon the waving of olive branches and tearful misery-mongering of pacifist old women, but guaranteed by the

triumphant sword of a people endowed with the power to master the world and administer it in the service of a higher civilization.

And his self-confidence is unsurpassed:

> More than once I was tormented [in 1918] by the thought that if Providence had put the conduct of German propaganda into my hands, instead of into the hands of those incompetent and even criminal ignoramuses and weaklings, the outcome of the struggle might have been different.

Mr. James Murphy has turned Hitler's German into readable English, though he is fond of "did not have" for "had not", and it is scarcely idiomatic to talk of Catholics and Protestants as "denominations". There are misprints on pp. 416 and 419.

*New Tyrannies for Old* (Allen & Unwin, 5s.) contains papers by Lord Snell, Mr. Wickham Steed, General A. C. Temperley, Mme. Tabouis, Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, and Mr. Herbert Morrison. Mr. Steed's incisive analysis of the Government's policy makes good reading.

There are twelve "I's" on p. 16 of Mr. Wyndham Lewis's *The Jews: Are they Human?* (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.), and apparently he thinks the spelling "shiekh" is correct. There are good things in the essay, *e.g.*, the discussion of the charges of cowardice and dishonesty brought against the Jews, but it scarcely adds much to our knowledge.

It is over forty years since the Webbs produced their great works on Trade Unionism, and a volume which brings the story up to date is very welcome. Mr. G. D. H. Cole has had the co-operation of thirty Trade Union leaders in *British Trade Unionism* (Gollancz, 7s. 6d.), which, not least in the section, "Trade Unionism in Particular", will become an indispensable book of reference. The T.U.C. has come to play a great part—and it must be confessed a not always intelligent part—in the political life of to-day; a volume like this will make even the most ardent sympathiser with Labour aspirations wonder if the shoemaker would not have been wise to stick to his last.

An exposition of the different parties into which Communism is divided and an objective account of the "trials" and "purges" in Soviet Russia are generally desired, but it is to be feared that Mr. J. R. Campbell's *Soviet Policy and Its Critics* (Gollancz, 8s. 6d.) does not fill the bill. What Mr. Campbell gives us is a swollen anti-Trotsky pamphlet; Trotsky is to be found on almost every one of the 374 pages, often when we long for an unbiased narrative of events.

Dr. William Brown may be a sound psychologist, but *War and Peace* (Black, 5s.) obliges us to say that we should not trust him as a politician! And while it is good that a man should magnify his calling, there are other things in heaven and earth besides psychology. Dr. Brown writes:

> Psychology in the same way will give us command over mental nature, exceeding beyond imagination our power at the present time. It will work partly through giving us leaders in every domain—Church and State and the professions—who understand themselves *au fond*.

His emphasis on psychological disarmament is welcome and necessary, but could it not have been made without repetition in a little book of only 93 pages?

In recent years the Rev. William Blackshaw has done splendid service at the Mansfield House Settlement, London, and not least in training

relays of students for the ministry, Anglicans as well as Free Churchmen. These lectures are now printed in **The Community and Social Service* (Pitman, 7s. 6d.), a volume which is destined to find its place on the reference shelves of all libraries and, we hope, in all ministers' vestries. The development of the social services has been so rapid, and their ramifications are now so varied, that it is advisable for all who have to deal with social problems to have an authoritative book of reference at hand. With local government and public health, housing and education, the young offender and the poor law, and kindred subjects Mr. Blackshaw's book effectively deals : it contains a mass of information, well arranged and easily accessible.

One of the keenest and most competent of Librarians, Mr. W. C. Berwick Sayers, of Croydon, is responsible for the new volume in the "Practical Library Handbooks". Dealing with *Library Local Collections* (Allen & Unwin, 5s.) Mr. Sayers shows how a library should collect books, manuscripts, deeds, films, *etc.*, so as to possess in fullest measure all that contributes to the history of the locality.

Mr. Herbert Read is always well worth reading, and his *Collected Essays* (Faber, 12s. 6d.) will receive a warm welcome. He draws attention to the disappearance of the essay of 3,500 to 5,000 words, which has had a distinctive place in literary practice. He then frankly accepts the contribution which psychology can make to literary criticism, and passes on to a discussion of "General Theories" which is rather "caviare to the general", and has an ugly "Frued" on p. 108 and an "anaylis" on p. 141. Then follow "Particular Studies" of Froissart, Malory, Descartes, Swift, Vauvenargues, Smollett, Sterne, Hawthorne, the Brontës, Bagehot, Patmore, Hopkins, and Henry James. A varied menu and an excellent meal.

Praise be, Stephen Leacock is himself again. Some of the papers in *Model Memoirs* (Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.) are equal to anything he has done ; the person who can read "My Victorian Girlhood" without laughing ought to see a doctor right away. We have only one question to ask Prof. Leacock : What is the connexion between ophthalmologists and deafness (p. 250)? The book is a tonic for depressing times.

The new volume of Dr. Gilbert Murray's translations from the Greek is *The Persians* of Aeschylus (Allen & Unwin, 3s. & 2s.). Dr. Murray is perhaps the best example of the *Kalos Kagathos* in our own day, and he is rendering no finer service to civilization than in these translations, at once so readable and so accurate.

Sometimes when we read Mr. T. S. Eliot we fear we are suffering from premature senile decay. No doubt he is getting at something in his blank verse play *The Family Reunion* (Faber, 7s. 6d.), but one reader, at any rate, has only a vague idea what it is. We have lines like

> And the eye adjusts itself to a twilight
> Where the dead stone is seen to be batrachian
> The aphyllous branch ophidian.

or

> The chain breaks,
> The wheel stops, and the noise of machinery,
> And the desert is cleared, under the judicial sun
> Of the final eye, and the awful evacuation
> Cleanses.

But the play is not all like this. Here is the other Mr. Eliot :

You bring me news
Of a door that opens at the end of a corridor,
Sunlight and singing; when I had felt sure
That every corridor only led to another,
Or to a blank wall; that I kept moving
Only so as not to stay still. Singing and light.

The association of Mrs. Naomi Mitchison with Mr. Lewis Gielgud in a play about the early Christians is not the least interesting feature of *As it was in the Beginning* (Cape, 3s. 6d.). The play is powerful and well-informed and presents a vivid picture of the life and sufferings of Christians in Rome in Nero's days.

Mrs. Pearl Buck has done nothing better than *The Patriot* (Methuen, 7s. 6d.). Whether she is describing the love of the Chinese youth and Japanese maiden, and the calamity which came as a result of war, or whether she is describing the war itself, we have the same sure touch. The power which tradition exercises in both China and Japan is on every page: intimate knowledge of Chinese life and character is there too. While Mrs. Buck can tell a story in a fascinating way, she is also an expert interpreter of the Chinese people to the English-speaking world.

We found Mr. Richard Ullmann's novel, *Escape from Freedom* (Faber, 7s. 6d.), an unconvincing story. There is nothing in Stephen's experience to account for the change in him, or to make Jan believe in it sufficiently to marry him. And does Mr. Ullman think that people of this class say "Aren't I?". Uncle Robert and Lou "ring truer" than Stephen and his parents.

We like our fiction and our biography neat, but if we must have biographical novels, it must be admitted that Mrs. E. Thornton Cook writes them skilfully. *Justly Dear* (Murray, 7s. 6d.), tells the familiar story of Charles and Mary Lamb. The canvas is perhaps unduly crowded, but some of the faces in the picture are admirably painted.

EDITOR.

Rabbi Epstein's *Judaism* (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.) is a clearly written and well-arranged statement of the essentials of the Jewish faith and practice, with a brief summary of the fortunes of Judaism through the Christian centuries. As representing "Orthodox" Judaism, it takes no account of any critical views of the Old Testament. The world-wide mission of Judaism is to teach men to be co-workers with God. Much useful information is given in this readable little book, but it is an idealized Judaism which is presented here, and some of the awkward questions—*e.g.*, the relation of ritual to moral elements, or the relation of the unwritten to the written *Torah*—are passed over too easily, whilst "Messianism" seems to be used loosely for "The Kingdom of God".

Mr. Neville Laski's *Jewish Rights and Jewish Wrongs* (Soncino Press, 7s. 6d.) is a sober and judicial review of the world problem created by Judaism. The position of the Jews in the chief European countries is clearly stated and no attempt is made to hide realities behind rhetoric. Mr. Laski's attitude towards the Palestinian question seems fairly near to the most recent Government proposals, though he desiderates a larger quota of Jewish immigration. This is an interesting book, the more satisfying because of its studied moderation.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

In the four lectures in *Israel's Mission to the World* (S.C.M., 3s. 6d.) Dr. H. H. Rowley seeks to estimate the significance of Judaism in the religious life of the world. He emphasizes the vision of the universality of

God achieved by the post-exilic prophets, and shows that even the particularism introduced from Babylon into Palestine by Nehemiah and Ezra played its part in the world-mission of Israel by preserving the religious inheritance of Judaism and enabling it to pass on the ideals which it was itself powerless to realize.

Dr. Rowley shows that the fulfilment of the mission of Israel was achieved by Christianity. It was through the Church that Israel influenced the Gentiles as she had never influenced them in any other way. Hence it is quite impossible to understand the mission of Christianity except in the light of the Old Testament, whose ideas and teaching entered so deeply into the thought of Jesus.

Dr. Rowley sums up the contribution of Judaism to the faith of the Church under five heads; (1) Its ethical conception of religion. (2) Its recognition of history and of experience, both national and individual, as the vehicles of revelation. (3) Its conception of God as both holy and redeeming. (4) Its spiritual conception of worship, finding expression in the Psalter and in the Synagogue. (5) Its imperishable literature, which was the Bible of the Church from the beginning, and is still indispensable for an understanding of the New Testament.

All who seek a clearer understanding of the relation between Judaism and Christianity will find this book very helpful, and not least its excellent bibliography.

In *A Two-year Public Ministry* (Burns, Oates, 7s. 6d.) Father Edmund F. Sutcliffe presents a scholarly view of the relevant evidence available for the determination of the length of our Lord's public ministry, and decides for a ministry lasting just over two years. He takes his stand upon the mention of a Passover in *John* $6^4$, which, together with that in *John* $2^{13}$ and that at the time of the Passion, makes three Passovers, and therefore two full years, as the background of the ministry. He believes that *Jn.* 5 and 6 have been accidentally transposed so that the feast of $5^1$ is identical with the Passover of $6^4$. This disposes of the theory of a three years' ministry which is based upon the assumption that the feast mentioned in $5^1$ is an additional Passover, making four in all. So far as the theory of a one year ministry is concerned, Father Sutcliffe shows that it goes back to the mention of the acceptable year of the Lord in *Luke* $4^{19}$, a phrase which he rightly regards as irrelevant. The book is a very useful contribution to an obscure subject.

Dr. D. J. Leahy's *Saint Augustine on Eternal Life* (Burns, Oates, 5s.) examines the teaching of Augustine respecting the beatific vision as the essential characteristic of the heavenly life. While noting the Christian Father's debt to Plotinus, he shows that the former rejects, as he is bound to reject, the pantheistic elements in Neo-Platonism, and affirms that the vision of God, as the goal of the God-given life of grace, is unattainable upon the natural plane. The beatific vision is not concerned with sense but with the intellect. Nevertheless intellect alone does not suffice. It must be raised to a higher plane by a supernatural gift, the precise nature of which Augustine does not attempt to define. Man will see God directly, but not in such a way as to comprehend the divine Essence in its ultimate mystery. The bliss of the beatific vision will be further enhanced by the presence of the glorified body now brought into perfect harmony with the soul, so that the whole of man's nature is made blessed.

The book may be commended to scholars and to others desirous of a clearer understanding of the Catholic teaching concerning the heavenly life. We note a redundant "other" on page 96.

E. J. Price.

The title of the Rev. C. D. Hoste's *The Partnership of Nazareth* (Longmans, 6s.) is not happy. It is, in fact, misleading, for the theme is not, as one would perhaps expect, the carpenter's shop in Nazareth, but the Incarnation regarded as a partnership in which both God and man are involved, not each doing a part of what is needed, but each the whole according to his office and capacity. We modern Christians shrink from the Incarnation and so lose much in personal conviction and in public authority. The inner life of our Lord is reverently examined and its significance for our day estimated. The whole matter is finally epitomized under the allegory of the Lions' Den. The human heart is the den; sin or self the lions; the Christ spirit, first in Jesus and then in us, is in the position of Daniel.

In *Jesus of Nazareth* (Coldwell, 10s. 6d.), the Most Rev. Bishop Hilarin Felder, at the end of thirty years of study and following his previous work, *Christ and the Critics,* now presents the life of Jesus from another point of view. As contrasted with mere questions of status and office, he treats of the entire person of Jesus, "the greatest figure in history, regardless of the position which is taken towards him, whether of belief or unbelief", examined no longer with an eye on hostile contemporary critics, but rather more positively from the standpoint of the ancient tradition:

> Human cleverness and human science have not been able to efface even one feature of the New Testament portrait of Jesus.

This failure gives the author unspeakable joy on his seventieth birthday. The scope and content of the work may perhaps be gathered from the titles of its six parts, Fundamental Questions, The Personality of Jesus, His Fullness of Virtue, His Messiahship, His Divinity, and His Significance for the Early Church. So full a work cannot be adequately discussed here. One sentence may perhaps guide readers to the point of view of the whole:

> Jesus is conscious of being the Son of God in a sense entirely different from that in which all men are or can be the children of God.

A conservative life of Christ written with deep devotion and ripe scholarship.

D. W. Langridge.

Dr. Peter Fletcher has already written one or two books on what might be called Applied Psychology—books distinguished for their clear common-sense and sane handling of difficult problems. The same might be said of his latest work, *In Search of Personality* (Rich & Cowan, 5s.). It is described as "An Essay in Spiritual Reconstruction", and the greater part of it is occupied with a diagnosis of our many distresses. The third and positive part of the book deals with the education of the self and with the expression of personality in relation both to freedom and religion. Dr. Fletcher makes it quite clear that our human nature is essentially designed for a non-material environment, and only in relation to such an environment can it fully develop all its powers. To him, therefore, personality

> is a new quality of living experience that becomes possible for human beings through a kind of relationship or integration they achieve with one another when they grow out of their individualistic preoccupation with the material environment and achieve a higher kind of organic unity.

How this view of personality is achieved and maintained the reader must discover for himself in Dr. Fletcher's most interesting discussions, and he will find it worth his while to do so.

W. B. Selbie.

The Rev. Elmore M. McKee has much that is helpful to say in relief of popular scepticism in his *What Use is Religion?* (Scribners, 7s. 6d.). The book is aimed at "the thoughtful man on the street" and is written in a somewhat free style as being more likely to catch the ear of such a man. But the author covers a great deal of ground, and does it well. The chapters deal with foundation questions in Christian faith; they are marked by wide reading and a knowledge of present day literature and science. At the end is a list of books for general reading. There is a note of sound good sense in all that Mr. McKee says, and his treatment of the main subject is persuasive. It is the right line to take.

Father Vincent McNabb's *Joy in Believing* (Burns, Oates, 5s.) contains forty-five sermons preached in the Church of the Holy Cross, Leicester. There is always the strain of conviction in Father McNabb's preaching. These are short sermons aimed at a mark; and they have a strong evangelical bias. They are arranged for the seasons of the Christian year, and could be used with much profit as devotional reading.

The Rev. Eric Abbott's *Escape or Freedom?* (Heffer, 2s. 6d.) deals with prayer. "Is prayer *escapism?*" The answer is, "certainly not". The book contains the six addresses given by Mr. Abbott at the Triennial Mission to Cambridge University, 1939.

*Papuan Journey* (Livingstone Press, 3s. 6d.), by the Rev. H. L. Hurst, L.M.S. Secretary for Australia and New Zealand, is an admirable account of a journey Mr. Hurst made to Papua in 1936-7 for the Society. Much of the material is in the form of letters written home during the journey, and this gives the book actuality. Friends of the L.M.S. in particular will find this a delightful account of a field associated with some of the most distinguished names in the Society's history. A very welcome book.

*Harry Wyatt, by* the Rev. Ernest A. Payne (Carey Press, 1s.), is an account of the work of Dr. Wyatt, of the Baptist Mission Hospital, Taiyuanfu, North China. The loss of Dr. Wyatt in 1938 is one of the missionary tragedies of the present Sino-Japanese war. Mr. Payne pays a loving tribute to Dr. Wyatt's life and work.

The Rev. Godfrey E. Phillips's *The Gospel in the World* (Duckworth, 5s.) is as good an outline study of Foreign Missions as one could wish to have. It deals with the theory and also with the practice of missionary work. Questions which arise through modern changes in the mission field are very familiar to the author, and he treats of them with a first-hand experience of his own. These chapters are perhaps the most valuable chapters of a very able book. If the supporters of missions would read them, there would be a far better understanding of missionary policy throughout the churches. And this book should be put into the hands of all students in our theological colleges. But it is more than a textbook; it is brimful of the missionary spirit.

The Rev. W. B. Macleod's *The Glory of Easter* (Clarke, 5s.) is a collection of poems, beginning with the Cantata, "The Glory of Easter", and followed by "Songs of the Soul", and then by some "Miscellaneous Poems". All these poems have a deep religious motive. Some of Mr. Macleod's "Hymns of Faith and Praise" might well find a place in the hymnology of the Church. In one or two cases he has caught the accent of the paraphrases of the Psalms so beloved in Scotland.

In the Rev. Frank Biggart's *Pater Noster* (Centenary Press, 2s. 6d.) readers will find many points of interpretation of the Lord's Prayer which are very helpful. The book has an Anglo-Catholic setting; but it frequently breaks bounds and goes into country where we are all at home. And it is a book which understands prayer.

A. T. S. JAMES.

# PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

**The London Quarterly and Holborn Review** (April). A well-balanced number with some excellent items under Notes and Discussions as well as the articles—Rev. R. Kissack's "Two Hundred Years of Methodist Field-Preaching", Mr. E. E. Kellett's "Mr. Chairman", Dr. W. F. Lofthouse's "Decision in the West", Dr. T. B. Shepherd's "The Children's Verse of Dr. Watts and Charles Wesley", the Rev. F. C. Gill's "Blake—the Poet of Shattered Mankind", and Dr. J. T. McNeill's "Luther at Aldersgate", in which he shows, we think conclusively, that the book Wesley heard on May 24th, 1738, was W.W.'s English translation of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans.

**Hibbert Journal** (April). Lord Samuel opens with "The Scientist and the Philosopher" and Sir Richard Livingstone follows with "This Uneducated Nation". Mr. H. C. Dent discusses the Spens Report and the Dean of Oriel the Loisy-Couchoud Controversy. Emerson is the subject of another article, and the Anglican Report on Doctrine of still another. Dr. R. E. D. Clark writes on "Newton's God and Ours", Dr. E. L. Allen on "The Roots of Irreligion in the Modern World", and J. Minto Robertson on "Euphemism Religious and other". Prof. G. Dawes Hicks surveys philosophical literature.

**The Baptist Quarterly** (April). An interesting number with the Rev. B. G. Collins on "The Process of Salvation"; Dr. Dakin on "Ideals of Freedom"; the Rev. Gwilym O. Griffith on "State Morality"; and the late T. H. Martin on "Richard Baxter and *The Reformed Pastor*".

**The Layman** (April). There are sketches of the Rev. C. E. Wilson and Mr. C. T. Le Quesne. The Rev. Hugh Martin writes on "Preaching by Printing"; the Rev. F. C. Spurr on "Contact Clubs", a new method of reaching men; and Dr. E. H. Selwood has examined the *Baptist Handbook* to discover whether the Baptists are a rural denomination.

**Friends' Quarterly Examiner** (Fourth Month). "From the House of the Four Winds" deals with the work of the L.C.C. and with Edward Grubb. "Observer" writes on the "Quaker Outlook". Arnold Lloyd tells us of "Tracts in Woodbrooke Library", W. S. Rowntree of Charles Smithson, the friend of Dickens. We did not get much out of Dr. H. L. Wilson's Lecture, "Some Psychological Implications of Puritanism and Asceticism".

**The Modern Churchman** (Mar.—May). The Editor's notes are always alive. Of note in these issues are Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's "The Clue to History" and the Rev. Hubert Handley's "Notes on the Life of a Modernist".

**Expository Times** (April—June). We have more "Great Texts Considered" and "After Fifty Years". Among the contributors are Dr. Maude Royden on "The Ministry of Women in the Church", Dr. W. F. Lofthouse on "The Righteousness of Yahweh", and the Dean of Exeter on "The Spiritual Capacity of the Plain Man".

**The Christian Quarterly** (April). A slight little magazine which nevertheless contrives to give a good deal about the history, worship, and present position of the Disciples.

**International Review of Missions** (April). Naturally this number is much concerned with Tambaram, Dr. Paton, Dr. H. H. Farmer, and Dr. A. C. Craig all writing on it. Dr. Carleton Lacy on "Self-support in the Chinese Church" and Mr. Arthur Black on "Sunday Schools and World Evangelism" are among other contributions in a very interesting number.

**World Dominion** (April). Again there are several articles about the Madras Conference. Among the remainder are the Rev. Jacob Peltz's "Position of the Jews in the World"; the Rev. A. B. Lewis's "China under the Impact of War", and Mr. E. A. Annett's "New Life for Greece", an account of the Zoe movement.

**Evangelical Quarterly** (April). This journal is taking the place of the old *Princeton Review*, whose Editor, Dr. O. T. Allis, opens with "The Birth-Oracle to Rebekah". Other contributions are Dr. J. C. M. Conn's "The Menace of the New Psychology" and the Rev. R. J. Drummond's "Friedrich Naumann". The Rev. J. Warren is disturbed by "The Chronic Disloyalty among Evangelicals to the Doctrine of the Justification by Faith".

**Bulletin of the John Rylands Library** (April). A bulky and valuable issue, with much for students of history and literature, theology and the Bible. We were undecided whether to turn first to Prof. Charlton's "Browning as Dramatist", Prof. T. W. Manson's "Date of *Philippians*", or Dr. F. Taylor's account of an early 17th century calendar of records—all of them rewarding, and the same is true of the other contributions.

**Social Service Review** (Feb.—April). Canon J. K. Mozley writes on "The Place of Religion in the Reorganized World", Miss Marjorie E. Green on "The Case for Family

Allowances", and Mr. R. H. Jones on "Some Recent Social Surveys". The Settlements dealt with are those of Liverpool and Birmingham Universities, and the Mary Ward Settlement, and the Leaders of Social Progress, T. H. Green and Samuel Barnett. In April we have Mr. W. O. Lester Smith on "Common Action in Education" and the addresses at the Community Centres Conference.

**Religion in Education** (April). The Rev. Spencer Leeson writes on the Spens Report and Dr. A. W. Harrison on the "Anglican-Free Church Recommendations on Religious Education". The Editor discusses "Scripture Specialists and Scripture Examinations", and among the other contributions is Dr. A. M. Hunter's "Other things which Jesus Said".

**The Plough** (Spring—1s. 6d.). This is the organ of the Community Movement. It contains a report of the activities of the Cotswold Bruderhof in 1938 and an article on practical community life in Sweden. It reprints the Hutterian Claus Felbinger's Confession of Faith in 1560. The Motto of the Movement might be said to be "Religion is Politics: Politics is Brotherhood: Brotherhood is Poverty".

**The Harvard Theological Review** (April). The articles are Mr. J. A. Montgomery's "Hebrew *Hesed* and Greek *Charis*", Mr. F. P. Magoun's "Aldhelm's Diocese of Sherborne *Bewestan Wuda*", Mr. Theodore Silverstein's "The Throne of the Emperor Henry in Dante's Paradise and the Mediæval Conception of Christian Kingship", and Mr. R. L. Wolff's "Barlaam and Ioasaph".

**Harvard Divinity School Bulletin** (April). The Annual Lectures are Prof. M. I. Rostovtzeff's "The Mentality of the Hellenist World and the After-Life", Prof. H. W. Schneider's "Natural Religion", and Prof. A. D. Nock's "Scholarship and Religion". 60 pp. of reviews.

**The Review of Religion** (May). We have Dr. D. C. Macintosh's "Empirical Theology and Some of Its Misunderstanders", Miss Gerda Hartmann's "Notes on the 'Wheel of Life'", Miss Ruth Farran's "Mysticism and Experimentalism", and 70 pp. of reviews.

**Anglican Theological Review** (April). Prof. G. A. Barton writes on "The Interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans" and Mr. Livingstone Porter on "The Word *Episkopos* in Pre-Christian Usage". The Church Congress Syllabus this quarter is especially interesting, Miss Underhill writing on "Worship".

**The Yale Review** (Spring). Mr. Wm. Allen White writes on "The Farmer's Votes and Problems", and Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr., on "After Lima". A fascinating article is Dr. Julian Huxley's "The Uniqueness of Man", while many can learn from Mr. C.-E. A. Winslow's informative contribution "Medical Care for the Nation". Among the other contributors are Mrs. Virginia Woolf and M. André Gide.

**The Review of Religion** (March). Prefixed to 70 pages of book reviews are Dr. Tillich's "History as *the* Problem of our Period", Prof. G. B. Wellman's "Samuel Hopkins, Rational Calvinist and Mystic", and Mr. Ulrich Bernstein's "Hegel's Lutheran Background".

**Religion in Life** (Spring). Prof. H. P. van Dusen writes on the Madras Conference; Dr. Emil Brunner discusses "The Present-Day Task of Theology", and Dr. Harvie Branscombe "The Biblical Doctrine of the Holy Spirit". An English contributor is the Rev. Edward Shillito on "The Colloquy"; the Rev. R. Birch Hoyle must wish that he saw these American proofs, for this time we have "Cannon Mozley". We also note that young men of mark to watch are Prof. C. H. Dodd and H. H. Farmer: we wonder when men cease to be young. Dr. H. S. Coffin's "Hungarian Protestantism" is informing, and Dr. R. W. Searle's "The Church in the City" should not be overlooked.

**The Review and Expositor** (April). Some of the best features of this magazine are the articles on ministerial life and work; this number contains two of them. The other contributions are theological and expository; and there are 40 pages of reviews.

**In Extremis** (1939, No. 2). The main article is an address on *Der Christ im demokratischen Staat* by Prof. Dr. Carl Ludwig of Basel. There is an appreciation of the contemporary French poet C. F. Ramuz by M. J.-J. von Allmen, and a discussion of M. Denis de Rougemont's recent *L'Amour et l'Occident:* in this work the author traces the notion of romantic love to the Catharist sect, to which the majority of the troubadours belonged.

**Nouvelle Revue Théologique** (March, April). The articles in March are *Enseignement modern de la religion et vie surnaturelle,* by Père G. Delcuve, and *Un projet d'association sacerdotale au début du XIXe siècle,* by Père P. Broutin. There is also an appreciation of the late Pope by Père J. Creusen. In April we have *Le Verbe Sauveur et illuminateur chez saint Irénée,* by Père L. Escoula, and *Autour du mystère de notre élévation surnaturelle,* by Père P. Descoqs.